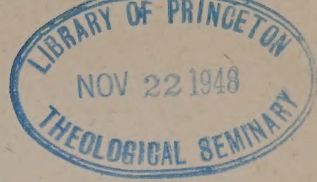


INTRODUCING
YEMEN

A. FAROUCHY

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INTRODUCING YEMEN

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GENERALITIES

"The etymology of the name Yemen is subject to controversy. Some say the country is so called because it is situated to the right of Mecca, as Syria is called 'Sham' because it is located to the left. . . . Others contend that the word 'Yemen' comes from the root *y.m.n.*, which means 'happy' (thus, Arabia Felix). . . . There are still those who claim that after the confusion of tongues at Babel some people followed the road to the left of the sun (that is, to Syria) and others took the road to the right and went to Yemen." . . .

"Yemen has a climate which weakens the body and tries the patience. There is a considerable amount of dampness in the air, and the high plateaus have rapidly changing weather."

So wrote the great Arab historian Masudi about the middle of the tenth century. Since then, Yemen has lost some of its former territories, notably Aden and Hadramaut, bordering the Indian Ocean, to which the last part of Masudi's description principally refers. But, except for these changes, and a few minor ones in the northern provinces, Yemen appears to us as it was almost a thousand years ago.

GEOGRAPHY

At the present time, the country has the shape of a vast rectangle some 260 miles long and 110 wide, stretching along the eastern shore of the Red Sea, from the Strait of Bab el Mandeb in the south to a point situated approximately at $16^{\circ}27'$ latitude north. It is bounded on the south by the British Protectorate of Aden and on the north and east by the territories of Saudi Arabia. The present boundaries were established by the treaties of San'a and Taif, with England and Saudi Arabia respectively.⁽¹⁾

The territory of Yemen may be divided into three distinct zones:

1. The coastal zone, *Tahama*, a sandy and semi-desert plain, averaging 40 to 50 miles in width, is inhabited by a semi-nomadic people who are chiefly a mixture of Arabs, Ethiopians, and Erytreans from Africa.

The climate here is very hot, with an average temperature of 130° F. in the shade, and the extreme humidity makes it even more trying. Heavy winds from the sea, which bring sandstorms but little rain, prevail, blowing northwest in summer and southwest in winter.

(1) See *History*, pages 69,72.

Wherever it is possible to obtain water, grain is cultivated, but in a limited way, since the water which is obtained from the undersoil is very salty. In the principal city, Hodeida, it is brought in by donkey-back from the mountains some 45 or 50 miles away.

2. To the east, there is a *high plateau* rising from 2,000 to 10,000 feet above sea level. The climate is cool and pleasant during the entire year. The average year-round temperature for San'a, the principal city, is 63.5° F., and for the entire region it varies from 71° in June, the hottest month, to 57° for January, the coldest. Rainfall, which is heaviest during the warm season, is plentiful, averaging almost 20 inches annually.

This region, which is Yemen proper, is the most beautiful and best cultivated part of Arabia, with its fortified cities surrounded by terraced fields, where thrive vegetables, and barley, wheat, rye, and other grains. Here is found the famous tree of love, or tree of Judas, so called because it is said that it was on one of these that Judas hanged himself. The entire country appears to be an immense garden, and the air is filled with the perfume of roses, lilacs, and a multitude of other flowers. More than three-fourths of the entire population of the country is concentrated in this zone, which is the "Arabia Felix" of the classical writers.

3. On the other side of the mountains, the plateau slopes gently to the east until it reaches the plain of

central Arabia. Some part of the ultramontane is sufficiently well irrigated to permit the cultivation of fruit trees and cereal grains by the nomadic tribes living in the region. Toward the east, however, the water diminishes gradually, vegetation becomes sparser, and the country takes on the typical aspect of the desert. Still farther eastward, no trace of vegetation can be found, all animal life ceases, and the true desert, *Rub'al Khali*—"The Empty Quarter"—begins. Here also Yemen ends.

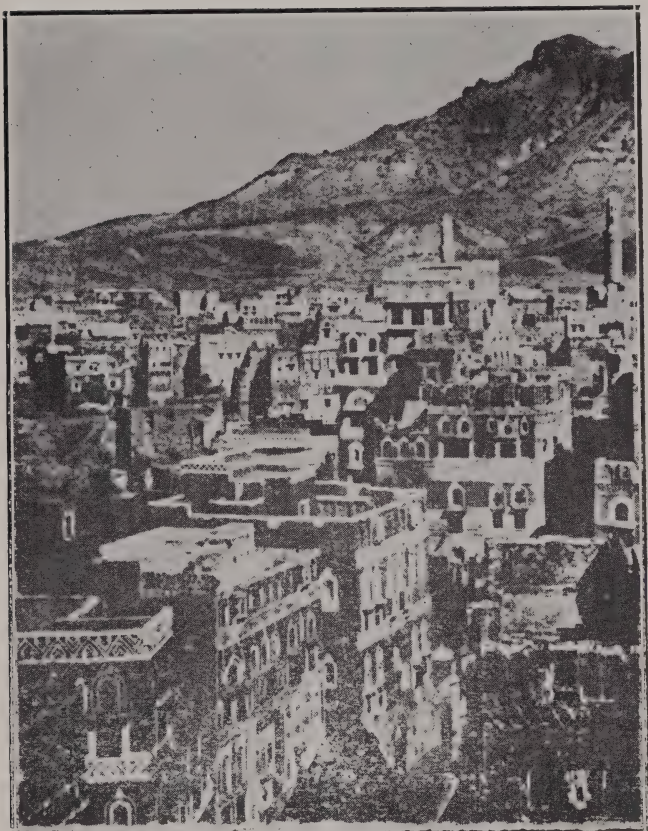
The most important of Yemen's towns are San'a, the capital, Hodeida, Sa'da, Taiz, Ibb, and Dhamār.

San'a—Legend has it that San'a means "fortress" and that the name was given to the town by the Ethiopians at the time of their conquest in pre-Islamic days.⁽¹⁾

Before then, it is said, San'a was called Azal (Bib., *Uzal*), but it is more likely that the name means "*A Place with Wells (or Cisterns)*", and that it is descriptive, as Mecca is called Ka'ba ("*Square*") from the form of its temple.

San'a has always been an important center of trade and commerce, and the traveler Ibn Batuta, who visited there in 1330 A.D., described it as "a populous town, built of brick and plaster, with a temperate climate and good water." Since the fourteenth century, it has grown to several times its original size, and the present population is about 60,000, of whom some 48,000 are Arabs; 7,000 to

(1) (*See History page 44.*)



A View of San'a

8,000 Jews, and 2,000 Levantines. The heart of the city has changed little, if any, since ancient times. Today it is divided into three quarters, each with its own characteristics.

Madinat-us-San'a, "The City" is the old Arab town. In that quarter is Jami', the most famous and important of the 60 or more mosques in the capital. It is also the oldest, having been built in the first century of Hijra (7th century A. D.) on the ruins of a pre-Islamic temple. It is rectangular and has four tall minarets and four entrances. In the west of the quarter is the palace, Al Mutawakkil, the residence of the present Imam, the religious and secular ruler of Yemen. It was a military hospital at the time of the Turkish domination.

An internal gate, *Bab as Saba*, separates the city from the *Bir Al-'Azab*, or Turkish Quarter, which was built by the Turks during their occupation. It is characterized by its spacious gardens and its mosque in the Turkish style. The Jewish Quarter, *Qa' al-Yahud*, is at the western end of the Turkish Quarter.

San'a is surrounded by a wall with eight principal gates, the most important of which are the gate of Yemen, *Bab al Yemen*, at the south, which faces the road to Dhamār, and the gate of the Jewish Quarter, *Bab Qa' al Yahud*, to the west, which is the road to Hodeida.

Hodeida, on the Red Sea, is the most important port. It has a population of some 35,000 to 40,000 mostly

Arabs of mixed blood. There are, in addition, some 2,000 to 3,000 Banians (important Indian merchants), 4,000 to 5,000 Hindus, about 100 Greeks, and 20 to 30 Europeans and Americans. It is the only important commercial center of the Red Sea which does not have a large Jewish population. Hodeida is the center of foreign trade, largely in sheepskins, bought especially by American firms, and coffee, which is mostly in the hands of the Greeks.⁽¹⁾ It is here also that the foreign powers have their consulates and the steamship companies their offices.

Several smaller places are worthy of mention. **Sa'da**, which was the seat of the Zaidite Imam during the Turkish occupation, is a small town in the northern part of the country with some 5,000 to 6,000 inhabitants. **Ibb**, **Dhamār**, and **Taiz** are situated in central and south Yemen, on the caravan road to Aden. Ibb has a population of about 15,000 and Dhamār about 20,000. Taiz, somewhat larger, has about 25,000, and its proximity to the Aden Protectorate makes it politically and economically a very important center.

Population. Yemen, with an area of about 70,000 square miles, has a population variously estimated at from three to five million, but four million is probably not far from the truth. About the size of Oklahoma, it has almost twice as many inhabitants, 57.1 as compared with 33.7 to the square mile. It is more densely populated than the

(1) See *Economy: Coffee*, page 15.



Bab al Yaman. (San'a)

United States as a whole, which has 44.3 to the square mile. Yemen is over-populated, first, because polygamy results in a high birth rate, and second, because the very healthful climate keeps the death rate low.

The excess population was formerly absorbed by the neighboring countries and by the Italian colonies, where many Yemenis emigrated to work or to join the "*askaris*" of the Italian colonial army. In 1938, however, the Imam introduced a decree forbidding further emigration of his subjects or their enrollment in foreign armies. The time will come when it will be absolutely necessary for Yemen's excess population to be absorbed once again by neighboring countries. Saudi Arabia in particular, with a population about a third as large as Yemen's, offers a possibility for the migration of Yemenis. Meanwhile, the Imam's decree has created a problem of the first magnitude.

ECONOMY

Yemen's economy is principally agricultural, with the growing of cereals and animal husbandry the two principal activities. Agricultural methods have remained unchanged through the centuries; the Yemenis still work their land by ox-drawn ploughs, and have retained the historic methods of fertilizing with manure and alternating the principal crops with vegetables or legumes. The soil is surprisingly fertile and will yield from two to three crops of wheat or barley a year. Climatic conditions have made irrigation necessary, and from earliest times the Yemenis have built dams and cisterns and terraced the soil.

The principal grains cultivated are wheat, barley, corn, and durra, a kind of grain sorghum. Vegetables are grown in the countryside immediately surrounding the towns. Yemen also produces large quantities of fruit: lemons, oranges, apricots, figs, almonds, pistachios, prunes, olives, and bananas, and more than eighteen different kinds of grapes. A few aromatic plants and spices are raised in the mountains. Industrial plants like cotton, tobacco, indigo, coffee, and qāt are cultivated extensively. The last two, because of their importance, deserve special attention.

Coffee. This is the principal article of export, and the Yemeni coffee is world-famous as Mocha. The choicest is grown in the district of San'a and on the high plateau of Central Yemen. In a normal year, Yemen exports about 80,000 bales, or over twelve and a half million pounds, chiefly to Europe and America. Before the war, this trade was practically a monopoly of two Greek firms, Athanassacopulo, with head offices in Aden; and Livierato, with offices at Hodeida and in other parts of the Red Sea, and also in New York.

The coffee tree is very particular about its place of residence, for it will grow only in the warm belt of the globe and at a height of several thousand feet above sea level. For this reason the few coffee-raising regions of the earth are local monopolies, of which Yemen is the most famous. The trees are propagated chiefly by seeding, but sometimes also by grafting and slipping. In the first case, the seeds are sown on narrow terraces sloped to facilitate irrigation. The trees are pruned and kept at a height of 10 to 15 feet. They begin to bear at the end of the third year and yield for almost twenty. Harvesting is carried on all year around, but the crops vary in quality, that harvested during the summer being the best. The first crop is very small, but in the seventh year, when in full bearing, a tree will yield from two to five pounds of coffee.

The fruit, or berries, are at first green, but when ripe

they have a vivid red color and resemble cherries. Each berry contains two round seeds embedded in a yellowish, sweetish pulp, called "qishr." The fruit is picked by hand and is spread on straw mats to dry in the sun. The dried qishr is removed and kept separate, but the beans are packed into straw baskets and bales and sent to Hodeida. There they are sorted according to quality and the dust removed before export.⁽¹⁾

Qishr. The Yemenis seldom use the beans in making their own coffee. They drink instead an infusion of the pulp, "*qishr*", made by boiling it in water for about twenty minutes. This drink, also called "qishr", often has a little cardamon or other spices added, but never sugar. The medicinal effect is about the same as that of the coffee bean, except that the high content of tannin and theobromine makes it a powerful diuretic.

Qāt. Another important product of the country is qāt, a woody shrub of the *celastraceae* family, which grows to the height of about ten feet. The sprigs of the young leaves, six to eight inches long, are picked in the early morning and bound into small bundles which are wrapped in grass for protection. By this means it can be kept in good condition for almost a week. There are three varieties, named after their places of origin, and of these the first two, Taizi and Sabri are considered superior

(1) It may be noted here that the Brazilian coffee trees derive from the slips transferred from Yemen to Martinique by order of Louis XIV.

to Moqtari. Qāt contains three alkaloids, *cathin*, *cathidin* and *cathinin*, the most important of which, cathin⁽¹⁾, acts upon the cerebrum and spinal cord as a stimulant. Less toxic than caffein, addiction to qāt is none-the-less harmful, because of the large quantity of tannin and similar substances present. Regardless of its damaging properties, however, the Yemenis say that "one can go several days without food, but not a single day without qāt". A Yemeni poet reflects the opinion of his countrymen in the quatrain:

"Its emerald leaves melt in the heart of friends,
And in the heart of life a gladness shed;
Waste not thy blame, nor cut its rotten ends,
We shall not leave the qāt, alive or dead."

Notwithstanding the praise the Yemenis heap upon Qāt in prose and poetry, it is their ruin both socially and economically. Its price is high for ordinary man, but if he can obtain the leaves he will chew them all day long, and while chewing will do no work. In Aden, where the price is highest, indulgence one day a week is about the limit, and is usually a convivial affair, with "chewing parties" on Fridays. Each man brings a share and puts it into the common pool. In Yemen the prices are not so high, and every day is Friday to the qāt addicts.

No one need be surprised that the Yemenis receive a substantial revenue from the export of qāt to the Aden Protectorate and other neighboring countries. The Imam's

⁽¹⁾ The identity of this alkaloid with d-norisoephedrine has been demonstrated by O. Wolfes in 1930. Arch. Pharma. 268, 81-3 (1930).

tax on each camel-load (averaging 300 packages) is three and a half ryals for Moqtari and four ryals for the other grades. A packaging charge of six ryals is also levied. The three varieties range in price from four to twelve annas per bundle according to quality.

As yet there seems to be no solution to the problem of this expensive, habit-forming and injurious drug. It is possible that the introduction of chewing-gum, which, with its pleasant flavors, became so popular in North Africa after its introduction by American troops, may eventually be of help in displacing qāt.

Animal husbandry is the next most important industry. The Yemeni horses are considered the best in the world, but their number is not great, even in the interior of the country. Donkeys, of which there are some very good breeds, are more numerous. Yemen also produces excellent sheep and camels; hence camel's hair and sheepskin are two of the most important articles of export.

Mineral Resources. Yemen has traditionally been considered very rich in minerals, especially gold and silver, the principal gold mines supposedly being in the regions inhabited by the *Kilab* tribes.

The Arab geographer al-Hamdani, who is the greatest authority on this region, being himself originally from Yemen, gives us a great amount of information concerning the mineral resources of his country. The following



Qāt

minerals and their locality are among those given by the author:

Gold: *Jabal Nuqum* (also iron ore); Another author Yakut gives the region of Sa'da as producing also gold.

Silver: *Jabal Shirk* between *Medinat al'Abid* and *Jum'a* (about six hours distance south of *Jum'at ul Anis*; two hours distant from San'a near *Dhu Marmar*, in *Shibam Sukham*, whence Banu Qafur brought silver to San'a.)

Copper: Hamdani records four copper mines; the best of all was that of *al-Dhamar al Qain* which yielded a red copper of good quality.

Iron: In al-Radrad at *Nihim* in the region of Sa'da. The composition of this ore is different from that found in *Jabal Nuqum* and near *Qumdan*. But the most celebrated is situated in the *Jabal Nuqum* near San'a.

Lead: At the foot of *Jabal 'Asi* situated east of *Dhmar*; another one in *Nihim* which "yielded metal of excellent quality."⁽¹⁾

As far as present-day Yemen is concerned, Dr. Huzayyin, head of an Egyptian geographical mission sent to Yemen in 1936, does not support the belief in the existence of important mineral reserves in southwest Arabia, or in Yemen proper, and considers the province of Asir the only promising field. He noted, however, the

⁽¹⁾ (The above information is extracted from **Corpus of Islamic Metalwork**, Vol. I, by M. Aga Oglu, (in process of publication).

existence of a "*fair quantity*" of graphite in the northern part of Yemen and indications of the possible presence of oil fields there and in Hadramaut.

Contrary to Dr. Huzayyin's conclusions, however, Yemen seems to contain important mineral reserves, especially of iron ore, which has already been exploited, on a small scale and with primitive tools, in the north of San'a, in the mountains called Jabal Nugum. Presence of Talc, Zircon and superficial oil seepages make this region a very promising field. There is definitely rock-salt⁽¹⁾ in the Tahama region and north of Hodeida, as well as coal, sulphur, and limestone in several parts of the country; and copper pyrites in the vicinity of Manakha. Finally, in the district of Beni Germuz, northwest of San'a, and in Kaukaban and Khuban, bituminous schists of hydrocarbons are recorded.

Industry. Industry is still in the primitive artisan stage. Notable is the manufacture of soap, saddle harness, shoes, arms, domestic utensils and glass. Jewelry is another important industrial item, and the ingenious artists, most of whom are Jews, produce a great quantity of silver necklaces, bracelets, and other ornaments. The weaving of cotton cloth, which is still done on hand looms, is a major industry, as are the making of carpets and the tanning of sheepskins. Dyes used are frequently

(1) The rock salt mine of Saliff, on the Red Sea Coast (45 miles north of Hodeida), alone is believed to contain a reserve of more than 4 million tons.

imported mostly from Germany before the war, but domestic indigo is also utilized.

Currency. The unit of money is the silver *ryal*, or *Imadi*. Each Imadi is divided into 40 *buqash* (singular, *buqshah*), and each buqshah into two *Hilala*. The buqshah, the half buqshah, and the quarter buqshah are made of copper. There are also pieces of 10 ($\frac{1}{4}$ Imadi), 4 ($\frac{1}{10}$ Imadi), and 2 ($\frac{1}{20}$ Imadi) buqash in value, made of silver, and the *qorush*, or piaster, a silver coin worth two buqash. Together with these coins, minted in San'a, the Yemenis use the old "*Maria Theresa Thaler*" of 1780, corresponding to one Imadi. The Maria Theresa have been made almost yearly up to now. They are minted especially in England, Belgium, and Austria for export to Ethiopia and the Red Sea region. Their nominal value of two shillings, is, however, subject to the fluctuation in the price of silver, but usually oscillates around the U.S.A. value of \$.30.

Weights and Measures. The unit of weight is the *woqiyah*, (pl., *awaqi*), about 1.2 ounces. The fractions of the woqiyah are the half-woqiyah, quarter-woqiyah, and the tenth woqiyah, called the *qaflah* (pl., *qifal*). This last is commonly used to weigh gold and silver. The most commonly used multiple of the woqiyah is the *ratl*, of which there are three kinds, according to the kind of goods to be weighed.:

Small Ratl (17 awaqi). Used for weighing coffee, sugar, rice, dates, tobacco, etc.

Medium Ratl (20 awaqi). Used for meats and vegetables.

Large Ratl (24 awaqi). Used for oil, butter, fruits, and petroleum.

The unit of length is the *dbra'*, about 26 inches. The unit of capacity is the *qadah* (pl. *aqdah*), used to measure grains, which is equivalent to about 35 dry quarts. The qadah is divided into 64 *nafar*.



International Stamps of Yemen

EDUCATION

One of the requirements of Imamatus being "knowledge" the Zaidites attach great importance to the education of their children. Thus, Yemen has always had a very high literacy rate.

The field of education, however, was rather restricted until recently, being confined mostly to reading and writing and the knowledge of Islamic laws and traditions. Little is being done, even yet, to advance science and the arts. Arabian physicians, for instance, even in the twentieth century, still acquired their knowledge of medicine from the *Canon*, the famous treatise of the Persian Avicenna, who died in 1037 A.D. After the withdrawal of the Turks from Yemen some twenty years ago, however, the first task of the Imam was to reorganize the educational system and create new schools.

In 1925, the Imam founded the Library of the Great Mosque at San'a and the "scientific School" of Bir al Azab. The latter, whose curriculum includes Arabic, philosophy, comments on the Koran, and Muslim law, tradition, and history, has an enrollment of 1,000. The students are educated at the expense of the State, and after graduation

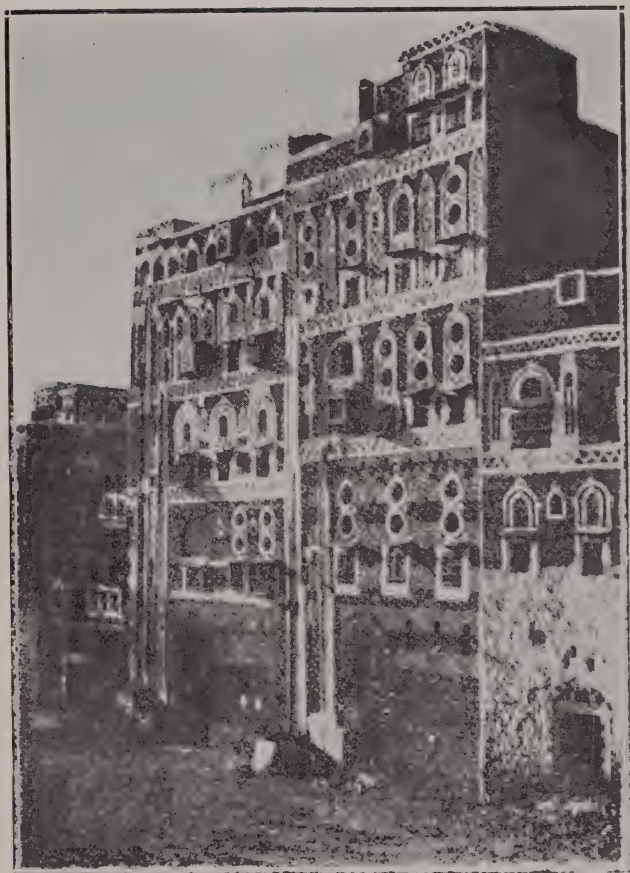
receive governmental appointments as magistrates or other functionaries.

Also in 1925 the San'a orphanage was founded, where more than 700 children are boarded at the expense of the government. In 1937, a military school was established at San'a, and the cadets upon completion of their study enter the regular army with the rank of lieutenant.

Since 1925 the progress of education has been rapid. Many more schools were founded during the decade from 1925 to 1935 than we have listed. In 1935 Yemen had more than 200 primary schools, more or less dependent on the support of the State. By 1941 there were 500 government schools in different parts of the country, and compulsory education from the ages of 7 to 17 had been instituted.

In planning Yemen's educational system, the Imam determined to benefit from the experience of Iraq and Egypt, and those countries in turn were eager to help as much as possible. The program of studies of the Iraqi schools was adopted, with six grades for the primary and five for the secondary schools.

Beginning in 1936, small groups of Yemeni students were sent to Iraq and Egypt to study science, art, literature and military tactics. At the same time, the Imam requested from the Arab states a number of teachers and technicians for the newly founded schools in his capital. An Egyptian technician went to San'a to teach the Yemenis the use of mechanical textile machinery. Another



Houses (San'a)

Egyptian became the director of the School of Technology, and a Palestinian joined the staff as professor. A Syrian physician came to organize the new hospital.

The Egyptians founded at San'a a School of Agriculture which included an experiment station, with a view to teaching the peasants the use of modern agricultural techniques and helping them to improve their crops.⁽¹⁾ The Egyptian University has provided scholarships to help Yemeni students visiting Egypt or Egyptian students going to Yemen. In 1936, an Egyptian geographical expedition, mentioned previously, visited Yemen and Hadramaut to collect materials.

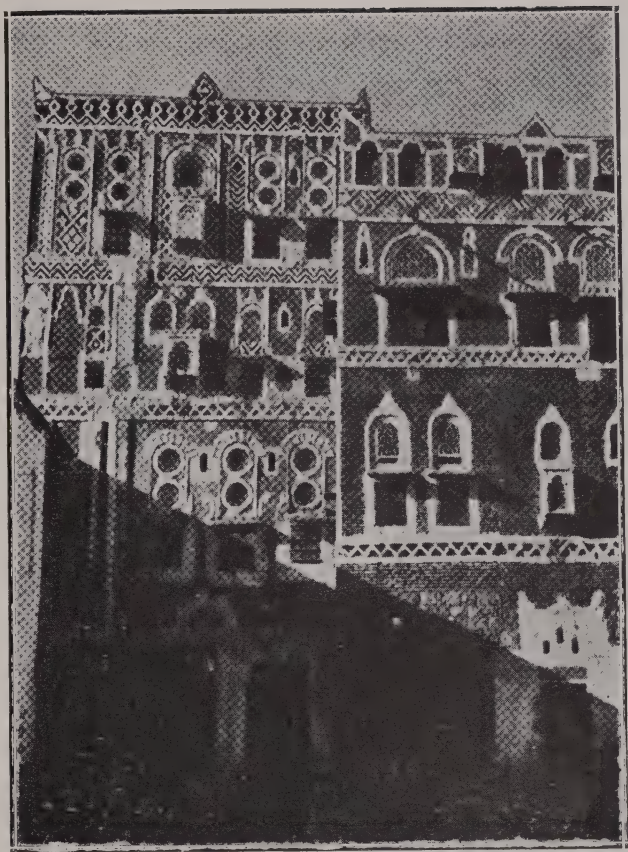
On the eve of the Second World War, the Imam, recognizing the value of such exchanges between nations, asked the Iraq government to send 100 teachers, technicians, and experts to reorganize his administration and army. The first group, 16 officers with a staff colonel at their head, arrived at San'a at the end of March 1940.

Despite these innovations, however, the Imam has not been overeager for progressive measures, for modern education and modern ideas are essentially antagonistic to the archaic conception of one-man government. The single monthly paper, **a'-Imān** (*The Faith*), published by the government, still satisfies the older people, but will

(1) An interesting example of the co-operation between the schools is the fact that the castor oil used in the making of soap (more than 4,000 cakes a day) by the laboratories of the School of Technology, comes from the model plantation of the School of Agriculture.

not do the same for the younger, more progressive Yemenis. Already there are significant indications that unless drastic reforms are introduced, there may be a revolution which would endanger the dearly bought Yemeni independence. As early as 1936, some foreign sources reported, without confirmation, the arrest of several persons in San'a on the charge of circulating a manifesto asking for internal reforms and the modernization of the country.

Another example of this undercurrent of unrest is the significant incident reported by Freya Stark upon her trip to Yemen in 1940. Owning a radio or listening to foreign broadcasts had been forbidden until 1940. The day after the Imam granted these privileges, so Miss Stark reports, "one could see and especially hear many radios in the streets of San'a." Had the Imam's faithful subjects been listening previously to foreign broadcasts in secret? This incident should cause reflection on the part of those interested in the future of Yemen. It should be kept in mind at the same time, however, that the number of the intelligentsia is still too small for that element to play an important rôle, and that for many years to come the Imam, or rather his name, will be the symbol around which the faithful Yemenis rally.



Window decorations (San'a)

THE YEMENIS

The Yemenis are believed to represent the pure Arab race. In fact, the high plateau of Yemen is practically free from prognathism, which becomes more and more marked as we go southward into Hadramaut and westward into Tahama and the coastal region. The northern and central Yemen is essentially mesocephalic, while the southern part of the country is inhabited by brachycephalic people (cephalic index between 80 and 82.6.)

Racially, the country can be divided into three parts: North and Central Yemen, Southern Yemen, and the Coastal Region.

1—In the northern and central region, the people are tall. They are mesocephalic, their faces oval, their foreheads high. Their noses are thin, sometimes aquiline, their mouths normal and regular. Their eyes, generally brown, are sharp with intelligence. Hair is dark and curly, with short waves, and the skin usually olive, very seldom dark. This type has the same racial features as the inhabitants of the Northern Arabian Peninsula. Between eight and ten per cent of the population, however, have fairer complexions, blue eyes and blond hair. They are probably the descendants of the Turanians and ancient Jews who settled in this region. Their women are attractive, svelte,

narrow-waisted; they have nice features, good manners, and they are surprisingly entertaining.

2—The southern Yemenis are of average height. They have round heads, large faces, and short noses with somewhat wide nostrils. Their skin is darker than that of the northern people, their hair less curly, their mouths more prominent.

These people represent the first inhabitants of the country. As a result of their crossing with Arab invaders from the north a mixed race has resulted. Among them are also many individuals approaching the Armenoid or Persian type, tracing back to the Persian conquerors who settled in this region.

3—Finally, there are the people of the Coastal Region, who have a marked affinity with the Negroids of Africa, but are not seen to any appreciable extent in the High Plateau. They differ, not only in appearance, but in their religion and customs, from the rest of the Yemenis. While most of the latter are settled and occupied in agriculture or trade, the people of the Coastal or Tahama region, are nomadic. They belong to the Shafa'i sect of Islam, while the highlanders are mostly Zaidites and thus of the Shiite faith. The people of this coastal region represent about one-tenth of the Yemeni population and form a minority which, although economically unimportant and socially backward, constitutes a political factor opposed to the rule of the highlanders. In the event of international complications, they could well cause difficulties for the rulers of Yemen.



Yemenis

COSTUME

The ordinary citizen of Yemen wears blue cotton kilts reaching to the knees and a blue shirt with wide sleeves. When in full dress, he wears over this costume a colored loin cloth and a large sack. The countrymen, the mountaineers, and the poorer classes in the cities wear blue turbans and go barefoot. The richer people in the cities wear silk robes, usually white, girdled at the waist with a V-shaped sheath into which fits the *jambāyat*, the ever-present little dagger. They cover their heads with white turbans and wear square-toed leather sandals. The Imam and his sons, alone, may wear their turbans with an end falling over one shoulder in the back.

Most of the Yemenis use Kohl, a compound of antimony, to darken their eyelids and eyelashes as a protection against evil spirits, but antimony being a strong antiseptic, they are actually protecting themselves against germs. They tint their beards and nails with henna, and some shave their heads in accordance with Muslim custom; the majority, however, let their hair grow long.

Tribal women wear long robes and black head coverings tied with gold or silver bands, and their ornaments are mostly gold and silver. They wear necklaces, heavy bracelets on arms and ankles, rings on their fingers and

toes, and they go unveiled, though they cover their hair. The women in the towns, however, never go uncovered or unaccompanied. Nevertheless they play an important role in the social and economic life of the country. In Yemen women seldom go idle and even in the Imam's harem they are not left without occupation, for they make uniforms for the army, for which they are paid at piece rates.

The Jews differ from other Yemenis in dress and social status. They are not allowed to use silk clothing and must wear earrings. The men do not shave their heads, but wear a long curl, the "Zinnar," hanging down either side of the face. The women go unveiled, but following the Arab custom cover their hair with a handkerchief or piece of cloth. At San'a, the Jews must live in their own quarter, but during the day can circulate freely. At night, however, they are not permitted in the Muslim section of the town.

Among other restrictions, the Jews are permitted to use only donkeys as means of transportation. They are protected by law against acts of violence, but may not carry arms nor serve in the army (though they are subject to the annual tax for support of the latter.) Despite the fact that money lending for profit is denied them, some Jews are very wealthy. Among the occupations they follow are those of carpenter, mason, gold beater, jeweler, and silversmith.



Yemeni Woman in the Street of San'a

GOVERNMENT

For administrative purposes, Yemen is divided into districts: San'a, Dhamar, Taiz, Zabid, Haja, Kalfa, Sa'da, and Shabwah. At the head of each district is the 'Amil, or Governor, appointed by the Imam and responsible directly to him. He resides in the principal city of his district, commanding the army and collecting the taxes. His principal assistant is the Amin es-Sanduq, or Secretary-Treasurer. Second in command is the Hakim, who is in charge of religious and civil affairs. He is directly named by the Imam and is independent of the 'Amil. He alone may exercise justice, though any individual has the right of appeal to the Imam, who is the final authority.

The authority of the 'Amil is less effective outside the towns, where most of the people live in close-set villages, within easy reach of one another. Often the inhabitants of one or more villages are interrelated and form a tribe, or "*qabilah*." At the head of each tribe is the Sheik, whose duty it is to defend the interests of his fellow tribesmen, and who collects the taxes for the Imam. Although the Sheiks are powerful, the Imam still practices the system of taking hostages: the Sheiks, under one pretext or an-

other, are forced to send a son or other important member of the family to reside in the capital and answer for their good behavior. After the death of a Sheik, the "notables" gather to elect a new tribal head, very often his son or other near relative. The election, however, must be confirmed by the Imam, from whom the Sheik receives his authority.

The machinery of the central government, which is patriarchal, is very simple. At the helm of the hierarchy is the Imam Yahya Al-Mutawakkil, who is an absolute monarch and has the power of life or death over his four million subjects. He is also the religious head of the state and high priest of the Zaidite Sect, in which latter capacity he personally conducts the "Collective Prayer" on Fridays. In his administrative tasks, he is assisted by two ministers, one for internal and one for foreign affairs. They are called simply Qadi, or Judges. The Imam, despite his age (he is 77), is still very active, and concerns himself with all important matters. Each morning at nine he holds open court on public complaints, and delivers judgments. On Mondays, he presides over his council of advisers to discuss religious, political, or military problems. Although each advisor, or "Mostashar," is consulted for his opinion, the Imam makes all final decisions.

Besides his governmental tasks, the Imam finds time to participate in other activities. He is a fairly good poet, but exercises his literary bent mostly in the publication

of the governmental organ, the monthly **al-Imān** (*The Faith*). On state occasions, he rides through the streets of the capital in an ornamental carriage drawn by two pairs of horses, complete with lackeys, while a man walking beside him holds over his head a huge umbrella, the sign of royalty.

Following the example of their father, the sixteen sons of the Imam, who have the title *Seif al Islam*, "*The Sword of Islam*," all participate more or less in the affairs of state. Almed, the oldest son, and probably the future Imam, is Minister of War and Commander-in-Chief of the Army.

The army was originally organized by the Syrian general Tahsin Pasha, under the guidance of the late Seif al Islam Mohammed, with a small group of Turkish officers. It is generally believed that Yemen, in the event of a conflict, would be able to produce an army of 100,000, fully equipped, although the value of the equipment is rather doubtful. In 1937, a decree of the Imam established compulsory military service, and the barracks at San'a, which have a capacity of 50,000, are reported to be almost continually full.

Another son, Qasim, is Minister of Communications and head of the Ministry of Sanitation. The principal functions of the latter are to administer all hospitals and supervise the purchase of drugs and medicines. In this Qasim is assisted by the Medical Council, formed by the

physicians in the service of the government, who are mostly Italian, British, or Russian.

Seif al Islam Abdullah is Minister of Public Instruction and head of the Historical Society, which was formed in 1938 to write a definitive history of Yemen. A fourth son, Ali, is Minister of Economics, this ministry having been created in 1938 to develop the commercial, agricultural and mineral resources of the country. Finally, the Superior Council of Defense, formed in 1940, is headed by the Seif al Islam Hussein. Other members of the council are the Minister of the Interior, the Imam's secretary, and the president of the Iraqi Military Mission.⁽¹⁾

Flag of Yemen. The flag represents a sword (the handle toward the staff) and five pointed stars, in white on a scarlet ground, one star in each corner and one above the sword. The legend is the symbol of the Shiite Islam. of the Shiite Islam.

⁽¹⁾The Iraqi Mission left Yemen in 1943.



Flag of Yemen

RELIGION

The principal religion of Yemen is Islam of the Shiite Sect. The population of Tahama, however, as was noted above, is almost entirely of the Sunni Sect of the Shafa'i Creed. There is also a minority of Jews, estimated at about 20,000 for the entire country. We should add to this few thousands Ismailites gathered in little communities, mostly in the South or the Southwest of the Country.

The dominant Moslem Sect in Yemen is called *Zaidite* because its followers recognize the right to the Imamat of Zaid ibn 'Ali.

As we know the origin of Islam's sectarian differences lies in its history. In fact the Prophet died in 642 A.D. without having named his successor, and since he had left no male children, the Mohammedan world was faced with a serious problem of succession. Mahomet's daughter, Fatima — borne to him by his first wife, the famous Khadijah, who was the first person to believe the Prophet's mission — was married to 'Ali, her paternal cousin. However, 'Ali was not only a cousin, but the second person to be converted to Islam, and from the beginning one of its greatest defenders. Hence, some Mohammedans, standing on the principle of hereditary succession, proclaimed the right of 'Ali to succeed his father-in-law.

These became known as *Shiites*, or Sectarians. The majority, however, while recognizing the special status of the Prophet's family, held that Islam's democratic principle should be applied. These people—*Sunnites*, or Orthodox—elected their Caliph, Abu Bakr, and after him Omar, both Muslims of the first hour and both fathers-in-law of the Prophet.

All Shiites agree on the fundamental point that 'Ali was the appointed and legitimate successor of the Prophet, but differ on the question of the principle upon which his rights were founded. The Shiites of Persia hold that the appointment of 'Ali to the Caliphate was due to his personality, that his descendants and heirs have followed in regular succession under the same rule, and that no purely human right could interfere with this principle. Therefore, they deny the authority of the first Caliphs, whom they consider to be usurpers.

The second group of Shiites, the Zaidites, on the other hand, combine in their doctrine the principle of election with the principle which restricts the Imamate to the Prophet's family. The Imam, they argue, is not only the religious but the secular head, governing the faithful, inflicting punishment on wrongdoers, dealing out justice, and defending the State. Accordingly, they hold that the people have the right to choose their Imam from among the descendants of Mahomet. To be acceptable, the Imam should possess, in addition to piety, justice, knowledge,

and sinlessness, administrative capacity, bravery, and the willingness to draw his sword to assert his right and uphold the faith. The consequence of this last requirement is the exclusion of the idea of a "*bidden*" Imam or a future Saviour, or "Mahdi." In fact, the word Imam means "the guide" of the people, in religious as well as secular affairs. A Zaidi poet describes this attitude of his sect in the following verse:

"Our Imam is set up and stands upright,
Not like the one who had to be sought by sifting.
Any Imam who is not seen publicly,
He is not worth to us a mustard seed."

The Zaidites therefore uphold the principle of election to the Imamatus, and may choose the "less eminent" in preference to the "most eminent." Accordingly, they accept the Imamatus of the first two Caliphs, holding that, although 'Ali was the "most eminent," the people for reasons of policy elected Abu Bakr in order to compose the difficulties between the opposing parties. They refuse, however, to recognize the third Caliph, on the ground that his election created discord among the Muslims.

Once elected, the Imam may hold office for life, but the faithful may replace him, if they choose, by someone "less eminent" or even by someone with less right to the Imamatus. Thus it is in theory possible to have a number of Imams "out of office" while another is ruling. In practice, however, the ruling Imam manages in one way or another to rid himself of his past or future "competitors"

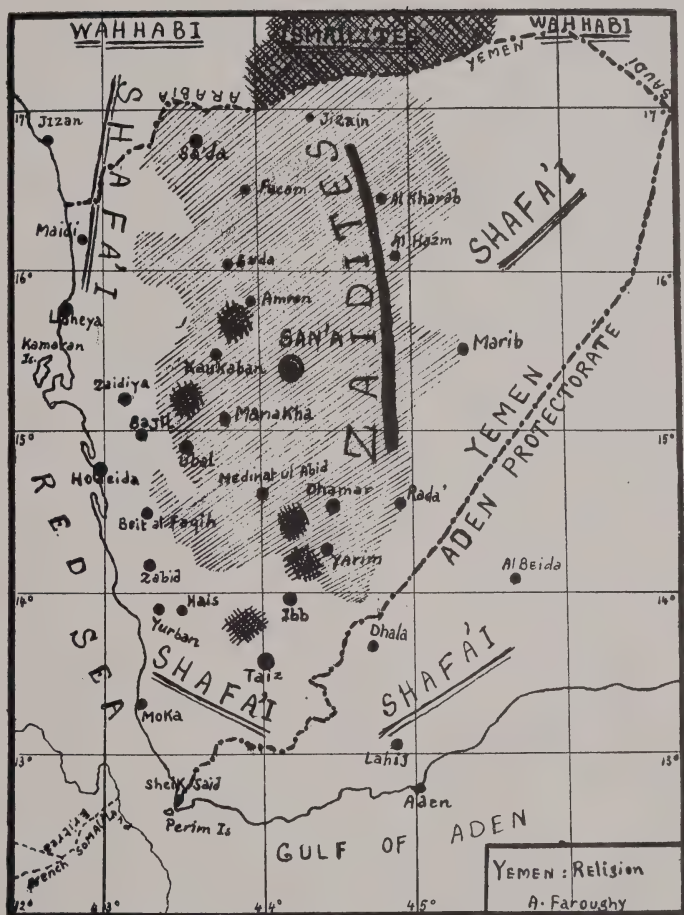
by keeping a strong army and using the system of hostages, so that he is able to stay in office until his death.

The Imam is strictly forbidden to name his successor, so that upon his death the electoral campaign, very often a military one, starts with each man for himself until a new Imam is able to assert his position by force of arms. Thus, the practice of election, ideal for a civilized country and society, is a plague to the Arab countries, at least at their present stage of development.

Another result is that uncertainty of the future has kept foreign capital out and delayed development of the important resources of Arabia which would benefit the people. An incident reported by Rihani well illustrates this fact. According to that author, two American businessmen once visited San'a. The Imam gave them permission to go where they liked and visit whomever they pleased. It developed that he was willing to give them concessions for exploiting the mineral wealth of the country. But these Americans asked business-like questions.

"The ex-Vali of Al-Yemen, Mahmud Nadim Bey, whom they visited frequently," says Rihani, "told me that they asked him, 'If the Imam suddenly dropped dead or were assassinated, would his successor recognize his agreement?' The ex-Vali said that he doubted it, because he did not know who the successor would be."

This is a situation which the Imam sooner or later will have to face and overcome. As things stand now,



Religious distribution in Yemen

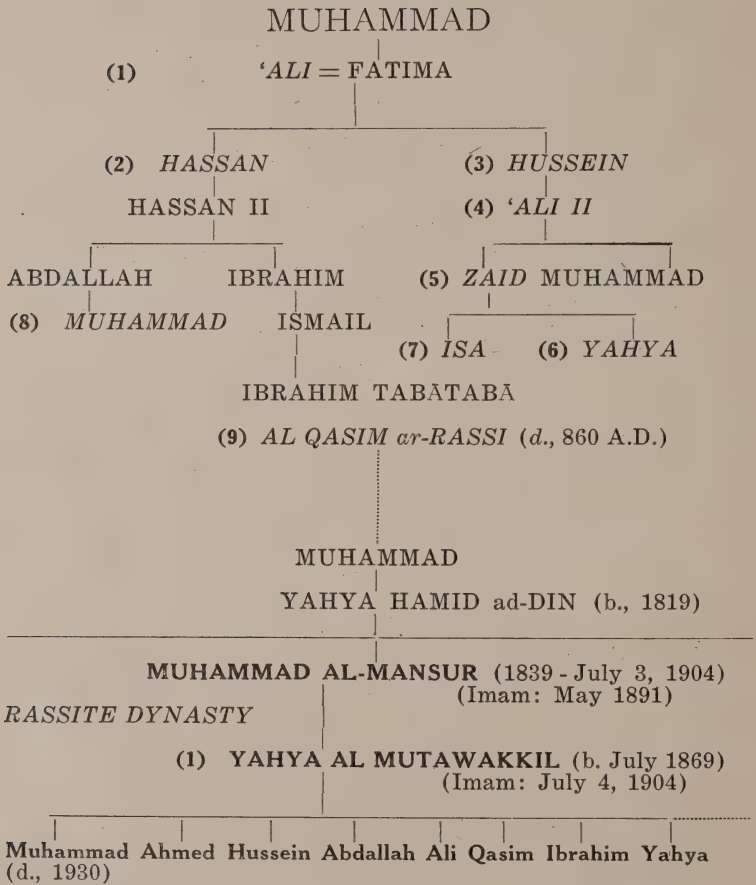
however, by means of his military supremacy and great personal wealth, he seems to have guaranteed the succession of his eldest son, Seif al Islam Ahmed, provided there is no foreign interference.⁽¹⁾ Under these circumstances he seems justified in saying, as he does in this verse:

"This is the best we could do in the midst of
so much business and so many cares."⁽²⁾

On the following page, we present the genealogy of the present ruler of Yemen and his relation to the founder of Islam. The numbers indicate the order of succession according to the Zaidites, who derive their name from Zaid Ibn'Ali. (No. 5).

(1) Despite the official attitude, Foreign office does not seem to regard Ahmed as "friendly toward Britain."

(2) Verse by Imam Yaha, reported by Rihani.



HISTORY

HISTORY

Little is known of the original inhabitants of Yemen, who have left very few traces. Probably during the third and second millenaries B.C., the southwestern part of the Arabian Peninsula was inhabited by the Hamites, who are identified with the people of Punt, or by the Phoenicians, the intermediaries of trade between Asia and Europe.

Semites. Around 1,000 B.C., Semites, coming from the northern part of Arabia, invaded Yemen. They founded at different times at least four highly civilized kingdoms: Ma'in (Minean), Saba (Sabean), Hadramaut, and Katabania (Katabanu).

The earliest was the Minean Kingdom, with its capital at Ma'an. According to the Danish scholar, Nielsen, the origin of this civilization may well have been the coastal strip of the Persian Gulf. He identifies the Babylonian name of Bahrein, Magan, with the word Ma'an. There were 20 Minean kings, whose combined reigns covered a period of about 600 years, up to 650 B.C. Their rule gave way to that of the Sabean kings.

Sabean history goes back to 800 B.C., and legend goes even further back, to the time—about 950 B.C.—when the

queen of Sheba (the Biblical name for Saba) is said to have visited Solomon.

The Sabean rule is divided into periods which bear the names of their rulers. The first group, the Makarib, of whom there were 13 or 14, seem to have been priest-kings, with their capital at Sirwah, though later they transferred the capital to Maryab (today, Ma'rib). They ruled from the ninth to the sixth century B.C. It was one of the Makarib kings who built the famous dam of Ma'rib. The most important was Karibu-Ilu ("the priest of the god *Ilu*," or "moon"), who was a contemporary and friend of Sargon of Assyria.

The second period (17 rulers) began about 550 B.C. and lasted until 115 B.C. These rulers, the Kings of Saba, retained Ma'rib as their capital. In the fourth century B.C. the Sabaeans founded colonies along the shores of the Red Sea and throughout the territory of present-day Erytrea. The hinterland of these colonies, together with the northern part of Ethiopia, later became an independent kingdom, the Axumite Empire, which in the fifth and sixth centuries of our era invaded and conquered the fatherland and forever ruined its economic prosperity.

The era of "Kings of Saba and Raydan," as they are called, began in 115 B.C. (Raydan was probably the region of their capital, Zafar, about 10 miles southwest of present-day Yarim.) Little by little these kings enlarged their conquests, and beginning in the third century

A.D. they took on the title of "Kings of Saba, Raydan, Hadramaut, and Yemen."

Competition between Yemen and Abyssinia over the trade of the Indian Ocean ended in an armed conflict between the two nations, resulting in the invasion of Yemen. This invasion was shortlived, however, for the Sabeans were soon able to drive out the conquerors.⁽¹⁾

In the following century the Himyarite king, Abu Karb, also called Assad Kamil,⁽²⁾ adopted the Jewish faith and Yemen remained Jewish until the time of its second invasion and conquest by the Ethiopians. The period separating the conversion of Abu Karb and the time of the Ethiopian conquest is obscure. It is known, however, that it was a time of many wars and revolutions, especially during the reigns of Abraha "*The Image of God*" and his successor Dhu Shanatir "*The Man with Earrings*", known for his abnormal pursuit of young men of royal blood. A young prince, Dhu Nawas, stirred up a rebellion which ended in the assassination of Dhu Shanatir. Dhu Nawas then became king, about 523 A.D.

The "man with earrings" may have had some connection with the Christian religion, for one of the earliest activi-

(1) The Sabean kings at this time were called "Kings of Himyar." The Arabic root h.m.r. means "red" and corresponds to the word "Erytrea" used by the Greeks to designate Africa. It is, therefore, possible that the Sabeans had actually enlarged their conquests to include the Dark Continent.

(2) His tomb was discovered in 1930 by a German archeological mission.

ties of the new king was the persecution of the Christians of Najran, to whom he offered the choice of being either converted to Judaism or burned alive. These persecutions were the pretext for the intervention of Abyssinia, already converted to Christianity, although commercial competition was probably the real reason.

Ethiopians. The Ethiopian general, Aryat, invaded Yemen in the sixth century, and the country became part of the Ethiopian empire. The capital of San'a was retained, and Ashwa became the first viceroy of Yemen. His successor, Aryat, was assassinated by his own guards, and the leader of the rebellious troops, Abraha, replaced him. He recognized the overlordship of the Ethiopians, however, to whom he paid tribute. Abraha, who was called Ashram, "slit-nosed," from the wounds received in the rebellion, seems to have been a great builder. He is reputed to have repaired the dam at Ma'rib and built a great cube-shaped temple at San'a, which after the conversion of Yemen to the Muslim faith became the Jami Mosque.

After the completion of the temple, Abraha, wishing to make it the only place of worship in Arabia, decided to destroy all other existing temples. As the temple at Mecca was the most famous and attracted many pilgrims from every part of Arabia, Abraha determined to destroy it first, and accordingly set out at the head of a considerable army. The Meccans, being unable to defend the city,

retired to the neighboring mountains. But God, according to the legend, protected the city and the temple; for when Abraha approached, the elephant he was riding refused to advance. He would march in any other direction, but not one step would he budge toward Mecca. While matters were at this stage, a large flock of birds, resembling swallows, came flowing over the army and "threw down upon them large stones of baked clay; and rendered them like the leaves of corn eaten by cattle."⁽¹⁾

The great Persian historian Tabari attributes the defeat of Abraha's army to an epidemic of smallpox. Whatever the real facts in the case may be, undoubtedly the mountain tribes, by harassing the enemy, had been of great help to the swallows in destroying the Ethiopian army. This event took place in 570 A.D., the year of Mahomet's birth. Abraha did not long survive his defeat. He died shortly after upon his return to San'a. His eldest son and successor, Yaksum, died after ruling two years, and a second son, Mathruq, whose mother belonged to the Dhu Yazan tribe, became the new king.

Persians. Following upon events the nature of which is unknown, a Yemeni nobleman, Seif, accompanied by his son, Madi Karib, went to the Persian Emperor to plead for assistance against the Ethiopians. As a result of his request a Persian naval force, under the Command

(1) The Koran: "The Elephant," Chapter VC.

of Wahraz, left the base at Obollah on the Persian Gulf and occupied the port of Mathub on the coast of Hadramaut. This small detachment defeated the Ethiopians and established Yemen as a Persian protectorate with Madi Karib as king (574 A.D.)

A few months later, Madi Karib was assassinated by his Ethiopian guards, and his death was the signal for a general revolt formented by the Abyssinian elements in the country. The insurrection was put down in a short time by the Persian garrison, but the danger persisted until additional Persian forces occupied the country. Wahraz came again, this time as viceroy, and Yemen became a Persian satrapy, or province. The Persians remained as rulers until 628 A.D. They established military and naval bases along the shore of the Red Sea and in Somaliland and Erytrea, and they also founded the important commercial port of Jiddah.

Islam. In the year 628, the Persian viceroy accepted Islam, and Yemen became part of the newly formed Arabian Muslim Empire. At the time of the Prophet's death (642 A.D.), the governor of the province of Yemen was Arabian, though the region of San'a was ruled by the Persian, Firouz of Dilam, who was converted to Islam. We find the Caliph Ali, however, naming Obeidallah ibn Abas to replace him as governor of San'a. Yemen seems to have taken an active part on the side of the Shiites in the struggle which marked the caliphate of 'Ali. This fact

cost Yemen a bloody suppression from tyrannical Moawia. Many Shiites fell, but the sect as a whole continued to survive and develop, and more and more of the inhabitants of Yemen swore allegiance to the descendants of 'Ali, who had fled to Tabaristan in Persia, or continued to live in secret on the peninsula. When the Abbasides became dominant in Baghdad, Yemen was ruled by the local dynasty of Zyādites, who recognized the authority of the Caliphs and sent them tribute and presents.

Rassites. The first descendant of Ali to obtain power in Yemen was al Hādi. He arrived in the year 280 of the Hegira (893 A.D.) and remained in Yemen more than 8 years. From that time on we can consider Yemen, especially the high plateau, the religious if not the temporal domain of the Zaidite Imams.

The Zaidite Imams, born in Persia, left for Yemen, the seat of their Imamāt, remained there a few years, engaged in struggles for power, which were only at times successful, and usually returned to die in their native Gilan or Tabaristan. These Imams were so many that we have space to cite but a few: Al-Tair died in Tabaristan in 956 A.D., Abu Talib died in Amol in 1032, Al-Nesir al-Deylami died in 1051, and Abu Talib II died in Deylam in 1126. After the twelfth century, however, the Zaidites permanently established themselves in Yemen, where they renewed their struggle to establish a Zaidite kingdom. Some of these rulers succeeded in pushing

their boundaries beyond the confines of the high plateau, and even to the borders of Oman and the Syrian desert. Generally, however, their civil authority did not extend beyond their center of gravity, the region of Sa'da. This situation continued while the peninsula was under Arab rule.

For some time the Ismaelites ruled the country, and the followers of the famous Aga Khan are still found in Najran and the Southern part of Yemen. The introduction of new factors, however, soon changed the situation.

The troops of Saladin invaded Yemen during the twelfth century, bringing into the country the minority faith of the Shafeites. Then came the Ethiopian conquest under the Negus Lalibala (1182-1220), the purpose of which was the conversion of the Yemenis to Christianity. The attempt failed, and indeed quite the reverse happened, for even the Ethiopian viceroy, Naakueto, was suspected of being converted to Islam.

Yemen next fell into the hands of the Egyptians, then came the Rasulid dynasty which made Yemen independent from Egypt (1229). The latter dynasty continued in power until about the middle of the fifteenth century. The capital at this time was Taiz.

The Portugese were the next who tried to invade Yemen. In 1513 Albuquerque unsuccessfully attacked Aden. He took Moka, but was forced to retreat to Socotra. The Portugese, however, succeeded in setting up sev-

eral garrisons on the banks of the Hadramaut and in occupying the island of Kamaran, where they attempted to rebuild the old fortress, the ancient memento of Persian domination.

Egyptian forces succeeded in driving out the Portuguese from the area of the Red Sea, and in turn they themselves occupied Yemen. This occupation was ephemeral, for, while these events were taking place, Egypt itself was being invaded by the Turks, and it was their occupation of Egypt in 1517 that finally settled the fate of Arabia. After that time the Arabs had to deal with the Sultans of Constantinople, who later assumed the titles of Caliph and Protector of Islam.

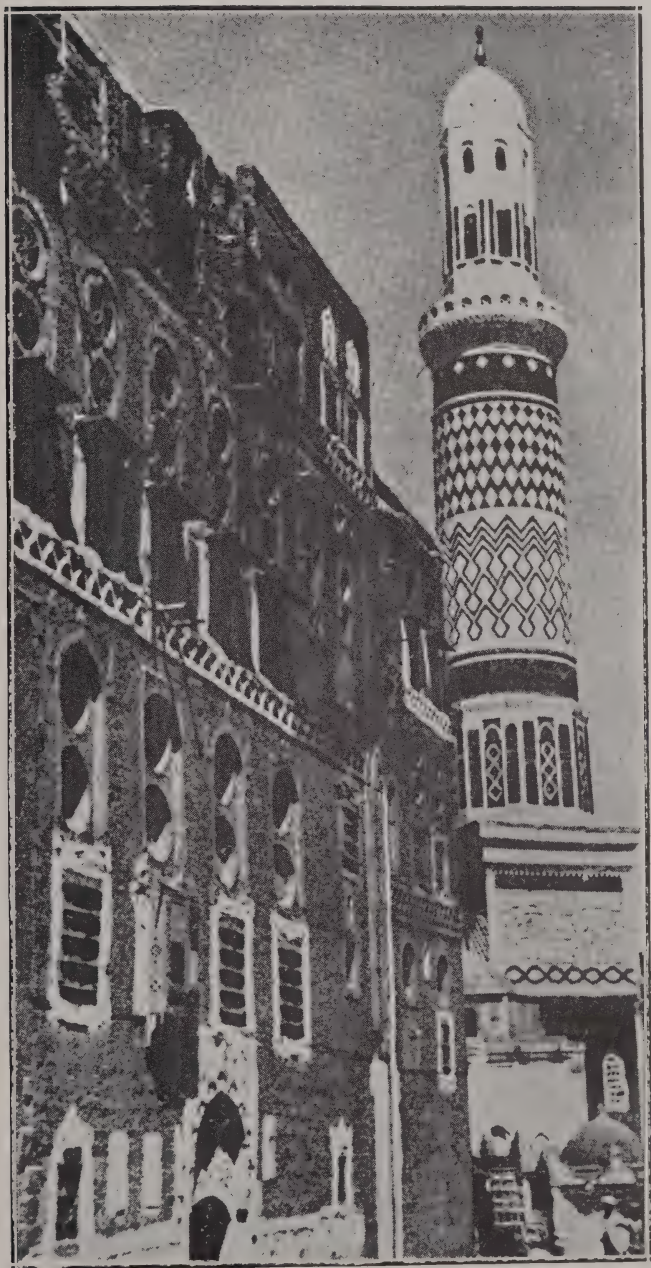
Turks. The first Turkish attempts at domination of Yemen were not successful. In 1528, Aden was occupied by Ottoman forces, but they were attacked by the Arabs and had to relinquish their captured possession. A new attempt on the part of the Turks ten years later resulted in the establishment of the Sanjak of Aden and Zabid. During the next 40 years Turks and Arabs were engaged in battle, and more than once the important centers of the country changed hands. Finally, in 1568, the Imam Moktadar was obliged to cede to the Sultan his rights as sovereign and was reduced to the governorship of Kaukaban.

Turkish domination lasted 60 years. In 1628, the Emir of Kaukaban revolted, took San'a, and proclaimed himself Caliph. The Turkish troops, powerless to subdue Yemen,

were forced to evacuate completely, and the country once again became independent. For two centuries thereafter, the Imams of Yemen enjoyed complete independence, and the country prospered. The Dutch established a coffee factory at Mokha in 1614. The French, in turn, entered into negotiations with the Imam and signed a commercial treaty with the Governor of Mokha, who ruled the city in the name of the Imam.

In 1728, the Sultanate of Lahej separated from Yemen, and the chief of the tribe 'Abdali declared himself Sultan. A hundred years later the East India Company entered into relations with Lahej and in 1829 established the coal-ing station of Aden. English troops entered Aden in 1839, and the treaty signed with the Sultan of Lahej established the colony of Aden and extended the English protectorate to the Sultanate of Lahej and the regions of the Amiris, to be known as the Protectorate of Aden.

During the nineteenth century, the accession to power of the first Wahabi Empire and its attempts to create an Arab empire changed the course of events. The Egyptian armies of Mahmet Ali invaded the peninsula, overcame the Wahabis and extended the power of Egypt over the shores of the Red Sea and into Yemen. The general insurrection of 1836-1837 ended with the taking of San'a and the abdication of the Imam. In 1840, the Egyptian troops evacuated San'a and the Turks came to replace them, but hardly had they settled in Yemen than they too



Minaret of the Salah ad-Din Mosque. (Sena)

were forced to leave the Country. So the continual occupation of Yemen did not begin until after the digging of the Suez Canal, an event which gave these regions a very great importance.

From the eighteen-forties until 1918 Yemen remained under Ottoman suzerainty, and from the foreigner's point of view the country was simply a part of the Ottoman Empire. In practice, however, the power of the Turkish governor was only nominal. Actually, the Turks occupied only the coastal strip, their purpose being to obstruct the avarice of the European powers, especially of England and Italy. The government of the hinterlands, and particularly of the high plateaus of the interior, was in the hands of the local chieftains who, being left to their own devices, indulged in frequent insurrections.

After a time, however, new Turkish reinforcements took over in order to stop the local fighting, and the occupation proved to be according the usual tradition of the Ottoman Empire. Of the struggles that ensued some deserve to be remembered, not only because they were particularly bloody, but also because they resulted in a sort of recognition *de jure* of the sovereignty of the Imam. The Turks went to San'a to put on the throne once more the Imam Ali ben Mahdi, who had been driven out, and (at his request) to protect him from his riotous subjects.

Cooperation with the Turks was not very satisfactory, for, although the Imam apparently had full power, it was

actually the Turkish governor, Wali, who was master of the country. The situation was extremely delicate and demanded a degree of diplomacy that few Turkish governors possessed. The presence of Turkish troops belonging to the Sunnite sect, and consequently opposed to the Shiism which constituted the dominant element in Yemen in no way helped relations between ruler and subjects. Add to these almost insurmountable difficulties the corruption and intolerance of the Ottoman administration, and we discover the principal causes of general discontent and consequent insurrection.

THE INDEPENDENCE

These latent forces were finally released against the Turks as a result of the religious propaganda of a Zaidi chief, Muhammad al Mansur ibn Yahya Hamid al Din. The Imam Zaidi, who at the outbreak of the rebellion in 1891 had passed his fiftieth year, belonged to the youngest branch of the ruling dynasty of Rassites. His followers came mostly from the districts of Sa'da and from the tribes living in the north and south of San'a. The forces of the Imam succeeded in the siege against San'a, the capital, and subdued the Ottoman garrisons almost everywhere. The Turkish troops under Ahmad Faizi Pasha, however, managed to raise the siege of San'a, and bring peace to the country. A general amnesty was proclaimed, and negotiations were entered into between the Pasha and the Imam for a final settlement. Nevertheless, the discussions failed owing to Imam's insistence that the Turkish civil code be replaced by the laws of the Koran in matters of justice. With all hope of an understanding abandoned, the Turks established a military government in the country.

In 1897, Ahmad Faizi was replaced by Hussein Hilmi Pasha, who tried to befriend the Arabs by favoring some of their aspirations to autonomy, but his efforts were nul-

lified by the intrigues of his military commander, Abdullah Pasha, who advocated the use of force. The Wali was replaced in 1900, this incident signifying the failure of the policy of understanding. The Imam refused to accept the Turkish regime and continued to foment uprisings against the Ottomans until his death in July 1904. He was succeeded by his son, Imam Yahya, then 35 years old.

The new Imam had never concealed his hatred for the Turks, and hardly had he mounted the throne when he gave the order for a general uprising. This order was almost instantly obeyed by all the tribes of Yemen. The Turkish garrisons were one after another subdued, and San'a actually besieged, when the Turkish Commander, Ali Riza Pasha, received the representative of the Imam, and terms of surrender were fixed. The city of San'a was to be returned to the Imam with all military installations and arsenals, and the Turkish garrison to be disarmed and interned at Manakha until the conclusion of negotiations with the Sublime Porte.

Internal disputes among the tribes, however, prevented the Imam from benefitting from his victory. Furthermore, Ahmad Faizi Pasha had just disembarked at Hodeida at the head of large Turkish reinforcements, so the Imam had to evacuate San'a and retreat to the high plateaus. The Imam's partisans now numbered more than 50,000, whereas the Ottomans had 126 battalions, eight squadrons and fifteen batteries, or a total of some 45,000 men. How-

ever the Turkish troops and especially the contingents of the Arab auxiliaries which had already overdone their normal term of foreign service were beginning to show signs of mutiny, and a considerable number of them deserted the Turkish side or had to be allowed to depart. In these circumstances the Porte adopted an attitude that was more conciliatory. After the first failure of negotiations in 1906, a delegation formed by the Ulema of Mecca was sent to Yemen to study the situation, and, upon its recommendation, concessions were made to the principal demand of the Imam, the application of the laws of the Koran. At the same time Tahsin Pasha was named Wali of Yemen. A new era seemed to have opened in Turco-Arabic relations, when the too-complacent Wali was replaced (1910) by Mohammad Ali Pasha.

This served as the signal for a new revolt. The insurrection came at the same time as that of the Idrisi on the shore of Asir—an insurrection encouraged by Italy, and coinciding with the Balkan wars. It was a prelude to the liberation of Yemen. Izzet Pasha, after having beaten the forces of the Iman and freed San'a, which had been besieged for three months, entered into discussions aimed at a lasting agreement. Negotiations between him and the Imam resulted in the signing of the treaty of Du'an in 1911, which finally received the sanction of the Sublime Porte in 1913. Although the treaty recognized the Imam as vassal of the Caliph, his position as spiritual and temp-

oral head of his Zaidite adherents was established *de jure*. (Article I.) Henceforth it was to be the Imam who named all Zaidi governors and the heads of tribunals. Article IX. even gave him a free hand on "all matters relating to endowed property and inheritance."

Articles IV., VIII., and XIII. limited the powers of the governor to the execution of decisions of the tribunals in regions inhabited by partisans of the Imam, but he had more freedom of action in districts primarily Sunnite. Article XV. permitted the Imam to accept gifts freely from the Zaidis either directly or through the government, but Article XVI. required that one-tenth of this revenue be paid to the government. Finally, the treaty granted a general amnesty, and exempted from taxes for a period of ten years certain regions impoverished as a result of the war.

The Imam was pleased with the agreement, for, in a letter to his friend, the Sultan of Lahej, he described it as "the fruit of the plant of our illustrious ancestors." He added: "The treaty concluded, we, though mindful of doctrinal diversities, will turn our thoughts to the unity of Islam and to resistance against foreign aggression in the event that Italy persists in wrongdoing in Tripoli."

It developed that Italy could not refrain from "wrongdoing." She declared war on the Turks and, to embarrass the Ottoman, sought the alliance of those Arab chiefs who

were dissatisfied with the domination of Constantinople. The Italian Consul approached the Sultan of Lahej, asking him to use his influence with the Imam to reopen hostilities against the Turks. Realizing the motives of Rome, the Imam refused to fall into the trap and answered ironically: "They imagine that everything white [they see before them] is a piece of fat."

During the war, therefore, the Imam Yahya and Yemen were hostile to Italy, whose warships bombarded and destroyed Hodeida. The Shiek Idris, on the contrary, entered into relations with the Italians, who before long had a Moslem officer attached to them.

At the outbreak of World War I, the Turkish forces of Yemen consisted of seven army corps under the Pasha, with two divisions, the 37th at San'a and the 40th at Hodeida. On July 5, 1915, this corps, numbering 2,000 Turkish soldiers and 4,000 Yemenis, with ten cannon, attacked the British detachment at Lahej and invaded the protectorate of Aden. They were stopped within sight of the port by the Indian forces of Younghusband. This was a stalemate that lasted until the end of the war.

Following the insurrection at Hejáz in 1916, the British Intelligence Service unsuccessfully tried to rally the Imam to the English cause. After an armistice was signed between the Imam and Sheik Idris of Asir, Colonel Jacob, political officer at Aden, obtained a letter from the Imam promising special consideration for Great Britain, but

clearly affirming fidelity to the Ottomans. Some time later, however, the Imam entered into discussions of an alliance with Aden. In addition to money, arms, ammunition, and so on, he also demanded recognition of his sovereignty over the entire country from Cape Hali, south of Konfouda, on the Red Sea, to Hadramaut, inclusive, with the exception of Aden. This proposal, if accepted, would have deprived of power the Sheik Idris, who since 1917 had been a British ally, and it was therefore refused.

Considered from a historical point of view, the claim of the Imam to these regions was quite legitimate. But at that time England was playing along with Sherif Hossein and Sheik Idris. Despite all difficulties, however, negotiations moved slowly in the direction of a reasonable agreement.

After the collapse of their country, the Turkish forces which, under Said Pasha were occupying Lahej, split into two parts; one joined the Imam, and the other, the larger sector, gave itself up at Aden and was disarmed. This evacuation of the country by the Turkish troops made the Imam the incontestable master.

The English took advantage of the opportunity to push deeper into the country and retrieve the frontiers existing before the war—frontiers fixed in 1905 with the Turks but not recognized by the Imam. This went contrary to the claims of the Imam, who affirmed his rights over the Protectorate of Aden and Hadramaut. The forces of

Yemen, increased by new Turkish contingents, barricaded the route to Dhala, and the English had to abandon the undertaking. It was then decided to negotiate, and in 1919 Colonel Jacob was sent to "discuss preliminaries of an understanding with Great Britain," but there was no mention by the British of the possibility of recognition or of a treaty with Yemen.

This mission was stopped practically at the border and had to return without having communicated with the Imam. On the other hand, the port of Hodeida, which was formerly part of the territory of Yemen, and which at this time was occupied by British forces, was ceded to Asir as recompense for the attitude of the sovereign Idrisi during the war. The Imam was thus threatened from both south and west.

To strengthen his position, the Imam again tried to reach an agreement with Turkey. In June 1923, reaffirming his fidelity, he wrote to Angora requesting permission to send his deputies to the Great Assembly. This was not a favorable moment for action on the part of the Turks, who had other worries than the welfare of Yemen. The only answer was a sort of friendly assurance, but one which was in no way warm. This assurance, however, sufficed to worry suspicious England, which did not care to see the extremely unruly Turks return to southern Arabia. Immediate action became imperative.

Before the end of 1923, the too-familiar figure of

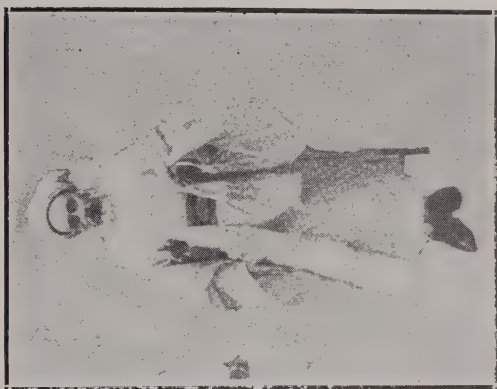
Colonel Jacob, now High Commissioner at Aden, appeared at San'a. The aims of his mission were: to secure from the Imam a pact of friendship, to reestablish normal relations, to obtain permission to extend the Aden-Lahej railroad to San'a, construction having been interrupted by the war, and to secure recognition of privileges for English commerce and trade. In return, England would recognize the sovereignty of the Imam over Yemen, Lahej, and Hadramaut. The mission did not produce the desired results, for the Imam, while declaring friendship for England, retained his uncompromising attitude.

With the failure of the mission, a different approach was resorted to. The British attempted to provoke "minor disturbances" among the tribes, but forces under Seif al Islam Ahmed soon succeeded in restoring order. The following year, an uprising occurred at Hodeida against the young sovereign Idrisi who had come to replace his brother, and the troops of Yemen under the command of Ahmed entered Hodeida in 1925, and, proceeding to the north, occupied the port of Luhaya and Maidi. The Sheik sought refuge in Aden near his uncle Hassan, known for his Anglophile tendencies.

Hassan managed to debark at Jizan, where he aroused the people and called to his aid the Wahabi king, Ibn Saud, ruler of Hejaz since 1924. The Wahabis again set up Hassan as king of southern Asir, with Abu Arish as the capital, but permanently retained the principality of Abha



Seif-al-Islam Hussein



Seif-al-Islam Ahmed

(northern Asir). By the treaty of Mecca (May, 1927), Hassan recognized Ibn Saud as his suzerain and agreed to have no diplomatic relations with any foreign country, nor grant economic concessions, nor declare war, nor sign treaties without the sanction of the Wahabi sovereign. In return, the latter guaranteed the security of Hassan's throne, the boundaries of his states, and the administration of the country, provided the laws conformed with those of the Koran. Upon the death of Hassan, however, Ibn Saud would inherit his domain. This was the end of the dreams of the Idrisi and of their kingdom of Asir.

Further negotiations between Saudi Arabia and Yemen settled the boundary question, and the Imam retained Luhaya and Maidi.

CONTEMPORARY YEMEN

The history of Yemen from this period until the end of the Second World War was characterized by a struggle for power between Great Britain, the traditional ruling force in Arabia, and Italy, Fascist mistress of Eritrea, Somaliland, and Ethiopia.

In the spring of 1926, an English mission under Sir Gilbert Clayton arrived in San'a to settle the Yemen-Aden boundary dispute and to negotiate a friendship pact. The mission had no tangible result, and Sir Gilbert had to leave San'a with empty hands. Hardly had the mission left, when it was learned that a ten-year treaty of commerce and friendship had been signed between Italy and Yemen.

Article I. of the treaty recognized the state of Yemen, with its sovereign Imam Yahya, as an independent power. Article II. concerned trade and commerce. The most important, however, is Article III., the complete text of which is as follows:

"The government of His Majesty the King of Yemen affirms its wish to give preference to imported articles of Italian origin, especially technical instruments and such equipment as may be essential to the development of the economic resources of the country, as well as to Italian

technicians. The Italian government, in turn, affirms its intention to facilitate the sending of technicians and technical instruments, and to see that the choice of the type of instruments, their price, and the personnel required for maintenance are of the best." This last article may be interpreted as recognizing a sort of Italian protectorate. Article IV somewhat modifies the possible consequences of the above by affirming the liberty of the two countries to engage in commercial transactions with others.

The treaty caused an upheaval, particularly in London, where the English saw their commercial and strategic interests threatened by Italy. In fact, the establishment in the Arabian peninsula of a maritime power such as Italy, now already mistress of Somaliland and Eritrea, seriously endangered the security of the naval base at Aden and, in time of war, would cut the sea route to India. The visit of the Seif-al Islam Ahmed, to Rome in 1927, where he was solemnly received by Mussolini, gave the treaty even greater significance. The Prince, in fact, publicly declared to Il Duce: "We do not doubt that Your Excellency is convinced that Yemen must have support of the sort Your Excellency will be kind enough to bring, in order to remain independent and happy."

Consequently Italy created the Italo-Arabian Company which in 1927 furnished Yemen with 95,000 cases of petroleum of the total of 130,000 imported. And, on

the heels of the Italo-Yemeni treaty, King Ibn Saud annexed northern Asir and extended his protectorate over the small domain of the Idrisi.

With her interests threatened, England did not long remain idle. She had lost the first round, but she won the second. One factor in her favor was that the oil discovered in the Farsan Islands was beyond the reach of Italians;⁽¹⁾ the economic blockade of Italy had begun. Furthermore, hostilities soon broke out between Yemen and England in Aden, but were shortly suspended and negotiations began for the recognition of Yemen by England. The Imam released from Aden the sheiks whom he had held as hostages, and a meeting took place at Taiz. It was agreed to suspend hostilities until June 1, 1928. Foreseeing difficulties with Ibn Saud, the Imam demanded that this armistice be extended to July 17. The English would not consent unless the Yemenis would evacuate Dhala before June 20. The Imam refused, and the British air force immediately began murderous bombardments. Under an attack of this size, the Yemenis could do little. They evacuated the larger part of the protectorate, and an English detachment occupied the town of Dhala in July, 1928.

The taking of Dhala did not, however, bring peace to

(1) The "Farsan Oil Field" was found later to be of no commercial value.

these regions, and the revolt of the Shafa'i tribes encouraged by the authorities at Aden, was not permanently quelled until 1930. That same year there was formed in Dhala, under the aegis of England, a confederation of tribes from southern Yemen which was also joined by the Sultan of Lahej. This move was obviously directed against the Imam. Ibn Saud, in turn, compelled Sheik Idrisi to sign a new treaty on October 27, 1930, changing the suzerainty to a protectorate. Ibn Saud appointed an emir and director of finance to administer the country, these representatives to be assisted by a council of five who were not to be chosen from among the Bedouin chiefs. The sheik now ruled in name only.

In the meantime, Yemen had gained recognition by the Soviet Government, and a ten year treaty of commerce and friendship was signed at San'a on November 1, 1928.⁽¹⁾ As in the treaty with Italy, Article I. recognizes the complete independence of Yemen and of the Imam.

Article II. reads as follows:

"There shall be a commercial union between the Soviet Government and the Government of the Imam, and the subjects of these two Governments shall have the privilege and facilities for transacting their own business with

(1) This treaty was renewed in 1938, for another period of 10 years, ending the 24th of June 1949.

the consent and sanction of both Governments.

"Any subject of the Soviet Government entering the territory of the Imam must be obedient to the laws of the Imam, and likewise, any of the Imam's subjects, within the territory of the Soviet Government, must be obedient to the laws of that country."

The other articles, three in number, deal with rules for commercial relations. The most important provision was the stipulation that the Soviet Government *is entitled to nominate a permanent representative at San'a, should any other power obtain that right.*

The organ of the Moscow Chamber of Commerce hailed the signing of this treaty as follows: "Among the victories achieved by Soviet diplomacy, great significance must be attached to a victory on the eastern front, externally of very little significance, but in substance of extreme importance."

The Soviet immediately organized permanent commercial exhibits of agriculture utensils at San'a and Hodeida, and flooded the Yemen market with Russian petroleum. The result was that from the first year of the signing of the treaty, most of the 6,000 tons of oil annually used by Yemen was of Russian origin. During the same period, the Soviet sold more than 1600 tons of sugar (40% of the amount imported) and 3,000 tons of grain (35% of the

amount imported).⁽¹⁾

The success of the Soviet was due in large measure to the fact that her consular representatives were Moslems and therefore in direct contact with the Yemeni masses. In addition, the Soviet at this time was engaged in economic war against the imperialistic countries and, thanks to her economic system, was able to sell below cost. Despite their participation in this game of competition, the Russians in Yemen had purely economic and moral interests. The principal diplomatic intrigues were being played in Rome and London; Il Duce favored Yemen,

(1) The following table gives the importance of this commercial competition :

ARTICLE	COMPETITORS	SOVIET UNION
Flour	6,779 bags	7,267 bags
Sugar	11,952 bags	10,419 bags
Starch	535 bags	550 bags
Soap	1,110 cases	1,973 cases
Manufactured goods	13,302 bales	592 bales

THE IMPORT OF KEROSENE

COMPANIES	1928 - 1929	1929 - 1930
Shell	42,000 tins	65,076 tins
Standard Oil	30,000 tins	*
Naphta Syndicat (Russia)	24,800 tins	65,006 tins
Fiume	13,000 tins	—

*Standard Oil restricted its operations as a result of a quota arrangement with Shell.

Whitehall had bet on the King of Hejaz. In addition to Yemen, Italy had an ally of long standing, the family of Idrisi, which had now become a branch of Hejaz.

The intrigues began in Cairo with the formation of "Hejazian Liberal Party," whose aim was the liberation of Hejaz from the yoke of Ibn Saud and his Wahabis followers. At the head of this party were therefore found two of Ibn Saud's worst enemies, the Emir of Transjordan⁽¹⁾ in the north and Sheik Hassan al Idrisi in the south. It was agreed that both were simultaneously to attack the territory of Hejaz. During the summer of 1932 the attack from the north was repelled and the troops of the Transjordan forced to retreat. Al Idrisi then attacked. His troops at first met with success, but were then beaten back, and in January 1933, Sheik Hassan sought refuge in Yemen. This was the end of the Protectorate of Asir. Italy, as can be expected, was in no wise pleased with these events, and when King Victor Emanuel traveled to Eritrea in September 1932, he simply "forgot" to send a message to the king of Hejaz, but not to the Imam of Yemen.

In the spring of 1933, a conference took place between the representatives of Yemen and Hejaz to solve once and for all the problems of Asir. The Imam demanded the *status quo ante bellum*, that is, the re-establishment of Idrisi,

(1) Emir Abdallah was crowned "King at Amman (May 25, 1945).

and refused to recognize the annexation of Asir by Hejaz. Ibn Saud was unwilling to cede to the Imam's conditions, discussions were interrupted, and Yemen invaded Najran and occupied it in May, 1933.

A Saudi embassy was sent to San'a to discuss matters and received the Imam's demands—the entire coastal zone of Asir (Tahama) and Najran. The members of the mission were subsequently arrested and held as hostages, and the Arab League of Cairo offered to mediate. This offer was accepted by both parties, but nothing practical was accomplished and war thus became once more inevitable.

Early in November, 1933, Ibn Saud sent to the Imam an ultimatum demanding the re-establishment of the boundary existing before hostilities, and the immediate evacuation of territories occupied by the Yemenis. The final demand, the giving up of the Idrisi refugee, was contrary to all the rules of the Arab code of honor, and the ultimatum was ignored.

Hostilities were resumed on November 15. Curiously enough, one month later, an English delegation under Colonel O'Reilly, governor of Aden, came to San'a. Discussions resulted in the signing on February 11, 1934, of an Anglo-Yemeni treaty of friendship and mutual co-operation, valid for a period of 40 years.

Article I. provided for recognition by England of the "complete and absolute independence of His Majesty,

the King of Yemen, the Imam, and his Kingdom, in all affairs of whatsoever kind." Article III., which, together with Article II., is the most important part of the treaty, postpones the settlement of boundaries to a latter agreement "in whatever way may be agreed upon by both High Contracting Parties in a spirit of friendship and complete concord, free from any dispute or difference, through negotiations which shall take place before the expiration of the period of the present treaty."

Other articles recognized the religious suzerainty of the Imam over the nine British emirates of the Protectorate, with the right to appoint the cadis and to receive religious contributions. The Imam, in turn, recognized the present frontier, that is, practically the same as that existing in 1905, for the period of the treaty.

Meantime, the war with Saudi Arabia was drawing to a close, and one week after the signing of the treaty with England, on February 17, 1934, a meeting between the representatives of both parties took place in Abha. Ibn Saud demanded the following: the giving up of Sheik Idrisi, recognition by the Imam of the old boundary between Asir and Yemen, and neutralization of Najran, the political status of which would be determined by a commission consisting of representatives of both countries. These demands could not be accepted by the Imam, who was becoming increasingly firm in the maintenance of his power over Najran. Hostilities broke out again. The

forces of Ibn Saud, armed largely with machine guns mounted on Ford automobiles, penetrated Yemen in two columns. Haradh, Maidi, and Hodeida were occupied, and the partisans of the Imam had to fall back into the interior.

Modern warfare is expensive even for Wahabis. The 30,000 Sterling pounds loaned by the Standard Oil through the bank "Netherlands Trading Society, Ltd", in Jaddah, was exhausted, the bill for £5,000 presented by Ford could not be paid, and no revenue had as yet begun to accrue from the concessions granted in 1933 to Standard Oil of California. Furthermore, international complications were to be feared, and the occupation of Hodeida had attracted more French and Italian than English warships to that port. On the other hand the Imam could not seriously count on Italian assistance, and the English had already revealed their preference. On June 15, 1934, therefore the two adversaries agreed to cease hostilities. This time Iban Saud demanded the following: the territories of Najran and Asir; the establishment of a common economic front for both countries; common diplomatic representation abroad with Wahabis also representing Yemen; establishment of a military and economic union of the two countries to protect Arab independence and other common political interests.

As an authority on the Arab question, General Bremond remarked: "These conditions closely resembled those im-

posed on Asir eight years before, which resulted in its annexation." The Imam, however, an excellent politician, accepted these terms and bowed to the inevitable the soon-to-be-signed "Treaty of Moslem Friendship and Arab Fraternity." This treaty, commonly called the Treaty of Tāif, was concluded at Jaddah on May 20, 1934. It has 23 articles and includes a Pact of Arbitration, valid for a period of 20 years and subject to prolongation or abrogation six months before the end of that time. Its most important articles are briefly summarized below:

Article I. Established a perpetual peace and friendship between the two countries.

Article II. Each of the two kings recognized the absolute independence and sovereignty of the other, and his heirs and successors. Imam Yahya voluntarily renounced all rights and claims to the territories of Idrisi, Najran, and the country of Yam.

Article IV. Designated the new frontier.

Article V. The two contracting parties pledged not to permit their respective territories to be used as bases for any hostile action, whether of their own subjects or by the subjects of foreign powers, and to prevent such action.

Article IV. Each of the two High Contracting Parties engaged not to enter into relations with a third party, whether an individual or a government, nor to make any agreement of a nature to threaten the interest of the other, damage its territory, cause trouble or difficulties,

or endanger its prerogatives, interests, or existence. The High Contracting Parties pledge themselves against war as a solution to their differences and promised the use of arbitration to solve controversies.

Article XVI. The Contracting Parties "united by the bonds of the Muslim fraternity and elements of the Arab race," proclaimed that their nations were a single people, nourishing no evil designs one toward the other. They would work together in peace and tranquility to better the conditions in their countries. They pledged themselves to conjoin their efforts in every circumstance for the good of their two nations, without contemplating any hostility toward any other nation.

Article XVII. In case of a foreign attack against the territory of either of the two High Contracting Parties, the other would be bound to the following:

(a) to maintain a strict neutrality "in secret and in the open";

(b) to give the other Party all moral and spiritual assistance;

(c) to initiate with the other High Contracting Party a study of the best way of guaranteeing its territorial integrity, avoiding any declaration or action which could be interpreted as being in support of the foreign aggressor.

Article XIX. The two High Contracting Parties declared their willingness to establish postal and telegraphic

communication between their two countries and to take steps toward concluding a customs agreement and a unification of their tariffs.

Article XX. The two High Contracting Parties declared their willingness to permit the delegates and representatives in foreign countries of one party to represent the other if and when the other party should desire it. In cases where both have delegates in the same country, these delegates should be bound to consult each other and act in a way conforming to the interests of their two countries as a single nation. This article should not be construed as violating in any way the liberty of either of the two parties to defend its rights nor as forbidding the freedom of action of the signers.

In accordance with the provisions of Article VIII., a "Pact of Arbitration" was signed at the same time, fixing the details and procedure of arbitration. This pact is considered an "integral part" of the Tāif Treaty.

On March 15, 1935, on a pilgrimage to Mecca, an attempt was made on the life of Ibn Saud by three Zaidites of Yemen. There was an exchange of notes between Saudi Arabia and Yemen, and the Imam formally denied having any knowledge of a secret society or of the existence of a plot against Ibn Saud.

After this period, Yemen definitely came within the orbit of England. When the Ethiopian War broke out, the Imam Yahya refused to permit Italy to recruit workers

for the construction of military roads. There was even a tendency among the Yemeni people to enroll on the side of Ethiopia. This was contrary to custom, since for some time Italy had recruited its colonial workers and a large part of its Askari contingents from among the inhabitants of the high plateau of Arabia. The Imam also refused the Italians permission some months later (October, 1935) to evacuate their wounded at Sheik Said by air and denied them permission to convalesce there.

During this period, Yemen retained an attitude of absolute neutrality. A communique issued November 18, 1935, declared that she was and would remain neutral. "Not a man, gun, or cartridge has been sent into Italian territory," the statement added. But the sympathy of the Imam could not help but lie with the Ethiopians, victims of Italian imperialism.

The exchange of Anglo-Italian notes in December 1936, and especially the declaration of 1937, affirming the common wish of the two governments to respect the *status quo* in the Mediterranean, permitted the English to put their house in order. It occurred to them, therefore, to settle the affairs of the Protectorate of Aden.

The Government of India Act of 1935 more or less cut India off from London. Aden and its immediate hinterland of 75 square miles were separated from the administration of Delhi and placed directly under the jurisdiction of the Colonial Office as a Crown Colony. By an Order in

Council in March, 1937, George V. included in the Protectorate of Aden the strip of land from Aden to Oman along the Indian Ocean. According to the Order, the Protectorate is bounded on the west and north by the Kingdom of Yemen and Saudi Arabia, on the east by the Sultanate of Oman, and on the south by the colony of Aden and the Gulf of Aden. Actually, there is no definite frontier with Saudi Arabia in the north, and theoretically the boundary is the border of Rub'al Khali, the desert. The boundary between Saudi Arabia and Yemen had previously been determined by the treaty of 1934; that of Oman touches the sea at longitude 53° and extends north for about a hundred miles, until it touches the desert.

The first and only European power to recognize this state of affairs was Italy. The negotiations of 1937, resulting from the secret Anglo-Italian agreement of 1927, strangely recalled the division of colonies before 1914. In exchange for her recognition of England's political preponderance in these regions, Italy hoped for economic compensation. Thus, a communique from Rome on September 7, 1937, noted the signing of a treaty of friendship between Italy and Yemen on September 4, by which Yemen accorded *de jure* recognition of Italian sovereignty over Abyssinia. The treaty was a renewal of the old commercial and friendship treaty of 1926, but had lost much of the latter's characteristic threat to England. Furthermore, since Italy was occupied in consolidating her position in Ethiopia, she was soon to abandon all political

interest in the Arabian peninsula in general, and Yemen in particular. This new turn of events in Italian politics was clearly shown in the signing of the Anglo-Italian Agreement of 1938, which was concerned with the Middle East. Section II. and III. deal with those regions holding particular interest for us. The following is a brief analysis:

Section II. provides for reciprocal exchange of information each January of movements of military forces in possessions on the Mediterranean Sea or the Gulf of Aden. It also calls for mutual notification of plans for any new air or naval base in those territories.

Section III. guarantees mutual respect for the integrity of Saudi Arabia and Yemen, and promises that neither party will seek to obtain a privileged political position in either country. It seeks to shut out any power from those two nations or from the former Turkish islands of the Red Sea, both Italy and Britain promising to refrain from seizing or fortifying those which did not belong to Saudi Arabia or Yemen. They also promised to remain aloof from any conflict between the two latter countries.

This section also dealt with the Arabian zone east and south of Saudi Arabia and Yemen. In that area, Britain promised to refrain from building any except purely defensive fortifications, and pledged not to enroll inhabitants in military forces except for local defense or the preservation of order. Britain would maintain the autonomy of

Arab rulers, and Italy promised not to try to acquire political influence in that zone. Italian citizens with business interests would be given access to towns and ports of the Aden Protectorate, as delimited in 1935 in King George's Order in Council. Despite its attractive promises, this Anglo-Italian agreement could not be an instrument of peace. The Second World War was to put it to the test.

In the spring of 1937 the Imam finally agreed to adhere to the Pact of Arab Alliance, signed in 1936 between Saudi Arabia and Iraq. The signing of this pact was hailed by the three countries as a real step toward an Arab Federation, and Yemen issued a special stamp to commemorate the occasion. Indeed, this alliance is most important because it paved the way for the creation of the Arab League nine years later. Article VI., in fact, reads as follows: "*Yemen, brother in religion and language, will be invited to adhere to the Pact, which is also open to all independent Arab States.*"

Thus, in 1936, as Iban Saud himself declared, the signers of the pact already had it in mind to include not only Yemen, but Egypt, Transjordan, Palestine, and Syria. The pact also provided clauses relating to arbitration, common representation in foreign countries, mutual assistance against internal rebellions, economic agreements, and so on.⁽¹⁾

(1) See text of Pact, Appendix I.

In the course of the year 1937, differences arose between Yemen and the English authorities of Aden with reference to their respective sovereignties over the tribes which inhabit the border of the two countries. An English mission, under the command of Captain Seager, visited San'a in February 1938 in order to negotiate with the Imam. The latter, however, did not wish to relinquish his position and insisted on his rights, so that the mission departed without having achieved positive results. However, in spite of the Imam's firmness, the English succeeded in concluding a pact with the chiefs of the tribes at Saiyar, and BBC announced the annexation of the region of Shabwah to the territory of Aden. Clashes began to occur between the English frontier guards and the troops of the Imam, and it was necessary for the British to use bombs and planes to gain the upper hand.

The military struggle eventually ceased, but the two adversaries firmly maintained their position. Commercial traffic, suspended during the conflict, was resumed some time later. The settlement of difficulties was a direct result of the Anglo-Italian Treaty of April 16, 1938, by which the two powers had ostensibly ironed out their differences. Yemen, as a "friend of Italy," was now supposed to be on very good terms with Great Britain as well as with the latter's "faithful ally," King Ibn Saud.

But other powers besides Italy and Great Britain showed an interest in the Arab world. Germany had long

the Japanese the necessity of having an Islamic policy.

The government therefore favored the religious movement of the Japanese Muslims and founded various cultural societies, the most notable of which was the "Japanese Institute of Islamic Culture, (*Islam Bunka Kyokai*)" which in 1938 began publishing an Arabic language paper, *The Nippon*. After 1938, several mosques were founded, and the Japanese government used the occasion of the dedication of a mosque in Tokyo to try to promote in the Muslim world the slogan, "Asia for the Asiatics." Delegates from every part of the Muslim world were present at the dedication, which took place on May 12, the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet. Seif al Islam Hussein represented Yemen. Japan profited by the visit of the son of the Imam to create the Nipponese-Yemeni Association, which had for its goal "the consolidation of the ties of friendship between the two countries."

It is easy, then, to understand the reasoning behind the statement in the Anglo-Italian Agreement that both nations would refrain from interfering in any conflict that might arise between or within Saudi Arabia and Yemen, and to oppose any interference by other powers. The Imam Yahya, a good politician, congratulated the British Government upon the occasion of this agreement, which, he said, "demonstrated that the Italo-English friendship was necessary for the peace of the world."

Meanwhile, in his capacity of "the eldest of the Mus-

since declared herself the "friend of Islam," and after the advent of Hitler had obtained, because of his anti-Semitic policies, the sympathy of the anti-Zionists. Through the annexation of Austria in March 1938, Germany showed definitely her will to enter the international struggle for power.

Then there was Russia, the traditional opponent of England in the Orient, and now the enemy of Italy. Moscow had another reason for the latter enmity besides her ideological opposition to Fascism. Since the end of the First World War, and especially after the annexation of Ethiopia, the newly formed Roman Empire was powerful enough to interfere in the Balkans, and its intervention in Spain had had a definite part in helping to defeat the republican regime of that country, which Moscow had aided. Russia then, though unable to act, did not wish to lose her interest in Yemen, and had to maintain her strategic and commercial position there. In 1938, through an exchange of notes between the Imam and Litvinoff, then Foreign Commissar, the commercial treaty which had been signed at San'a in 1928 was extended for another period of ten years.

Finally, there was a new arrival, Japan, who for several years had pursued her system of dumping merchandise against the interests of the European nations. The difficulties encountered in China, where Muslims were the principal opponents of Sino-Japanese collaboration, showed

lim Kings," the Imam called the attention of Britain to the necessity for a just settlement of the Palestinian question. The creation of a Jewish state, he said, would not only injure the rights of the Arabs, but would also create uncertainties in the Mediterranean which would threaten British interests in the Near East. It was in that spirit that Yemen participated in the Muslim Congress for the Defense of Palestine, which met in Cairo in October 1938. The delegates, who represented almost every Muslim country, except Saudi Arabia, condemned the Balfour Declaration and protested against the British policy in Palestine. Meanwhile, the Seif al-Islam Ahmed, in a speech at the Mosque of Zebid, invited the faithful to prepare themselves for the holy war, and Yemen continued feverish military preparations.

In January, 1939, the Government of Saudi Arabia protested against the provisions of the Anglo-Italian Treaty which referred to "herself and her Arab neighbor, the Yemen." She declared that she could not recognize a treaty in which she had not participated and did not want to be held responsible for the consequences thereof. The replies of Italy and Great Britain were similar; namely, that the treaty had been concluded only between the contracting parties and did not entail the liability of any third state.

Curiously enough, the Government of Saudi Arabia had waited almost ten months before filing its protest, and

now spoke for Yemen, whose ruler, only a few months before, had hailed the treaty in question. This can be explained by the fact that the relations between England and Italy were growing strained, and that the pact was rapidly taking on the status of a "scrap of paper."

Subsequently, Italy fortified Libya, and England furnish Aden with fresh colonial troops. Radio Bari again took up its violent attacks against England, and German propaganda became active in the Near East, especially in Iraq and Palestine. Everywhere in the Arab world, the feeling was one of discontent against Great Britain. In Baghdad, for instance, on April 4th a mob stormed the British consulate, killed the consul and burned the building.

The publication of the White Paper on Palestine on May 17, 1939, satisfied no one, and tension remained generally high. The Imam showed his displeasure by declaring to the Arab press: "We have found in these propositions nothing of what the Arabs, and especially the Muslims, desire or hope for. It is not logical to give the Jewish immigrants the same rights as the inhabitants of the country — that is to say, the Arabs — who are the owner of the land. In order to establish solid relations and continue the traditional friendship between the Arabs and England, it will be necessary to stop all future Jewish immigration to Palestine." In conclusion, he said, "We and our government agree that the Arabs are most useful to Great Britain and are the ones who deserve preference,

for the sincerity and the fidelity of the Arabs to their pledged word has been proved many times." The Imam's announcement, coming two months after the occupation of Czechoslovakia and almost on the eve of the signing of the Italo-German alliance, took on special significance.

Yemen, however, remained loyal in her relations with England, and despite pressure from Italy, refrained from any anti-British action. And if the Imam, in June of 1939, in a letter addressed to the King of England, protested against the recent occupation of Shabwah, his protest was formulated in such a way as to be friendly and devoid of any threat. In her answer, England promised an investigation and a settlement of the matter in a way conforming with the general cordiality and good relations existing between the two countries. In the same year the Seif al Isam Ahmed visited London and Paris, and was assured of the friendship of both France and England for his country. The French tried to obtain a promise of neutrality from the Imam in the war that seemed inevitable, and a French mission which visited Yemen assured the Imam of France's friendly intentions.

As a result of these negotiations, when the war broke out in Europe, Yemen declared her neutrality. It may be of interest to reproduce here the text of the communique issued by the Foreign Minister of Yemen as published in the paper, *al-Imān*:

"We have been asked about the position of Yemen

toward the state of war between Germany and France and England. We have deemed it appropriate to announce that the line of conduct of Yemen in the present war is one of absolute neutrality."

The Egyptian papers reported that Great Britain was desirous of forming the territory of Hadramaut into an Arab Kingdom, whose sovereign would be a prince of the house of the Imam. This report was not confirmed by other sources, but when Colonel Lyall, political adviser to the Government of Aden, visited San'a in February, 1940, he was received with unusual attention by the Imam. Soon after his visit, it was learned that the British Government had decided to send an envoy to Yemen in order to negotiate officially the settlement of the southern border of Yemen.

The year 1940 was critical for Great Britain, and, after the fall of France, it was mainly the faithful friendship of the people of the Near East that saved the British Empire from disaster. After the conquest of Somaliland in July 1940, the Italians were on the very doorstep of Yemen, and the Imam was obliged to accept the arms and munitions that were sent to him at Moka, and to set up cannon, in plain sight, on the heights overlooking the border of Yemen and Aden.

The Axis powers tried hard to induce the countries of the Near East to act against the British. They divided the fields of action for their propagandists, the Germans

concentrating on Turkey, Iraq, Persia, and Afghanistan, and the Italians on Egypt, Yemen, Palestine, and a part of Saudi Arabia.

A number of Italian propagandists entered Yemen as members of the staff of the medical missions at San'a, Hodeida, and Taiz. These missions were provided with wireless which put them in touch with Erytrea and Ethiopia. In San'a alone there were about a dozen Italian doctors, as compared with one British. The hospital they shared was heavily dominated by the Italian wing, so much so that when an Italian patient was about to die, he was transported to the British wing, and it would then be broadcast that patients of the British seldom recovered.

To fight the Italian propaganda, the British in 1940 sent Freya Stark to San'a to try and win the women to the British cause. She brought along a great number of films and was able to show them in the Imam's harem and to some other women of importance, with the result that "by the end of a week," she writes, "the cinema and the British armed forces were the chief topics of conversation in the town." Her introduction into the harem also permitted her to outwit the Italians. "I used to go along telling the hospital story to the Arab ladies. The Italians' treatment of their patients appealed to the Arab sense of humor and became one of the best jokes of the harem."

The Japanese, too, were not inactive in their propa-



A rich dwelling (San'a)

ganda. At the end of April 1940, the Nipponese-Yemeni Association of Tokyo proposed to send a number of Japanese "technicians" to Yemen in order to teach the Yemenis the preparation of sheepskins and the art of weaving and dyeing cloth.

On June 30, 1941 and 6 months before the entry in war of Japan, the President of the Islamic Association, Abdar-Rashid Ibrahim (Ibrahimov), in an appeal to the Moslems of the world invited them to declare the Holy War against England. That appeal published in the Arabic language paper of Berlin, Barid As-Shark, assured them that "Hitler, the Great Reformer of the west, had declared that Orient belonged to Orientals and had recognized the right of the oppressed to rise against the oppressor".

But the Moslems of other countries were not as sure of the intentions of the Axis Powers as Ibrahimov seemed to be and the appeal to Jihad of course was ineffective.

Already in February 1941, the British had taken the offensive, occupied the Italian East African ports, and in less than six weeks had entered Addis Ababa. The Italian danger was thus eliminated, but Rommel was closer to Egypt than ever, Syria was in the hands of Vichy, and the Suez Canal was threatened with encirclement.

However, the exacting demands of Mr. Eden at the Cairo Conference of March 6, 1941, requiring that Iraq "place its territory and means of transportation at British disposal," created new complications. A *coup d'etat* by

nationalistic elements deposed the pro-British cabinet of Iraq, and the new Prime Minister, Rashid Ali Al-Gailani, refused to accede to the British demands. The British then began to reinforce their troops. This unauthorized reinforcement was considered by Iraq to be a "provocation," and hostilities began on May 2nd. On the same day, Rashid Ali appealed to Germany for help and received the promise of aid.

This defection of Iraq not only would have deprived Britain of five million tons of oil yearly, but would have endangered the entire structure of British defense in the Near East, which rested mainly upon Iraq's political treaties with her neighbors. The system of treaties was rather peculiar. On one side, Iraq had signed a pact with Persia, Turkey, and Afghanistan, and on the other was co-signatory with Yemen and Saudi Arabia for the Treaty of Arab Alliance. Thus, Iraq was the link that joined these two systems of pacts, forged patiently by England during the years preceding the Second World War. The breaking of this link was a terrible blow to the stability of the whole Near and Middle East.

With Rommel at the gates of Egypt, England faced a crisis as grave as that of Dunkirk. Then another miracle happened. As the price of their support, the Germans demanded that all the territory and resources of Iraq should be put at their disposal. The cabinet of Iraq refused this demand and the Germans contented themselves

with sending only a few combat planes of no real value.

Meantime, the Soviet had recognized the new government and concluded a treaty of commerce and friendship, but refused to give any aid except her moral support. Then Rashid Ali tried out his Arab partners and appealed for diplomatic and military support. But Ibn Saud refused all aid, and the Imam Yahya was not even consulted.

Iraq, thus left to herself, could do little. Rashid Ali fled to Persia and the British installed another pro-British government at Baghdad. Had Ibn Saud given his aid, even though it were only moral, the situation would have been much more difficult for England and one can well understand the enthusiasm with which Churchill hailed Ibn Saud as having been "from the beginning a staunch and true supporter of our cause; especially when the situation seemed most critical."

Imam Yahya seemed to have been less passionate for the British cause than his powerful neighbor. Had not the newspaper *al-Iman* interpreted the bombing of London by the Germans as a divine punishment for the bombs dropped by the British on the Yemenis, and the blitz as a divine warning "not to favor the Jews in Palestine"? But despite this metaphysical interpretation of *al-Imān*, Yemen imitated her neighbor Saudi Arabia and retained a friendly attitude toward England. Unlike Ibn Saud, however, who broke off diplomatic relations with Italy in the early stages of the war and dismissed the German

minister from his country in December 1941, Yemen waited until February 26, 1943 to break with the Axis powers and intern their subjects.

The period from 1941 to 1943 was one of great activity in the Arab lands, for an Arab federation was in the making. The idea of such a federation was not new. For many decades, thinkers, reformers, and religious leaders in every part of the Moslem world had urged the formation of some kind of union which would embrace all countries of Arab civilization and renew the old Empire of the Caliphs.

The possibility of a Moslem empire, stretching from the Philippines to Spain, with its potential power, alarmed the European powers, which must perforce relinquish some three-fourths of their Asiatic and African colonies. So they fought the idea with every means at their disposal, and tried to revive old dissensions or create new ones. For their part, the Moslems, realizing the difficulties to be encountered in bringing such an empire into being, reduced the scope of their dream and proposed instead a regional federation.

In the past, even a regional grouping would have been almost forcibly discouraged by the great powers, especially by England, to whose hegemony it would have been a threat. However, events following the First World War, which caused the awakening of colonial peoples throughout the world, brought even England to revise her colonial

policy, and the old concept of "divide and rule" gave the way to "unite and rule." Consequently, all the great powers showed themselves openly as less opposed to the federation than they would have been in the past. In June, 1943, for example, the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Eden, reiterating his previous declaration, said that "His Majesty's Government will view with sympathy any move among the Arabs to promote their economic, cultural, and political unity."

In 1941, the Premier of Iraq proposed the creation of Greater Syria, with an inner circle composed of Iraq, Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon, and an outer circle composed of Egypt, Yemen, and Soudi Arabia. But the implication inherent in the plan was that the family of the King of Iraq should rule the federation, and for this reason the proposal failed. In 1943, Egypt took over where Iraq had left off. King Farouk, in a move to win leadership, grew a beard in order to be more acceptable as a future Caliph. But beard or no beard the British were reluctant to support Egyptian leadership, and, it was an open secret that King Farouk was not the choice of the Foreign Office; they preferred Britain's proven friend, Ibn Saud, who also enjoyed the friendship of the American Department of State. Furthermore, Egypt has a nationalistic intelligentsia which is very influential, and public opinion is easily inflamed. On the other hand Saudi Arabia is more manageable, since the king is all-powerful after God, and his word is final.

The end of the war, however, was in sight, and with Russia plainly intending to fill the place previously filled by Germany and Italy, the problem could not be left unsolved. The British diplomats then busied themselves. Consequently, the Emir of Transjordan decided to undertake the holy pilgrimage to Mecca, and the Egyptian king soon after also showed eagerness to visit Ibn Saud. With the election on August 17, 1943, of Shukri Bey al Quwâtly, a close friend of Ibn Saud, as president of Syria, the rulers of these three countries were at last tied up by personal friendship. The activities of Zionist organizations in the United States, and especially the passage of the Wagner-Taft Resolution concerning Palestine, helped further to cement the rapprochement among all Arab states.

On this occasion Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Transjordan, and other Arab countries joined together in March 1944 to protest the Wagner-Taft Resolution, then before the United States Senate. The strong pro-Zionist declarations preceding the American presidential election later in 1944 coincided with the Pan-Arab Conference sponsored by the Egyptian Premier. This preliminary Pan-Arab Conference in Alexandria, which ended in October, 1944, culminated in the formation of the Arab League. The countries sending delegates were Syria, Transjordan, Iraq, Lebanon, and Egypt. Saudi Arabia and Yemen sent only observers, who did not join in the proposal for the league, but referred it back to their sovereigns for consideration.

Then came the famous Yalta Conference and its aftermath, the meeting of Roosevelt and Churchill with Ibn Saud, Farouk, and Haile Selassie at Cairo in February 1945, emphasizing the co-ordination of policy between the United States and England with regard to the Near East.

The attitude of the United States in constantly supporting the British is generally explained by her "oil appetite." In fact, in 1944, Mr. Ickes, as Fuel Administrator, revealed the importance that the United States attached to fuel reserves in the Middle East, for the American government was then occupied with the problem of getting the consent of Egypt and Saudi Arabia to the proposed pipeline joining Ras Tanura to the Mediterranean.

Following the Yalta Conference, Ibn Saud received a \$20,000,000 loan from Great Britain and a promise of \$12,000,000 from Roosevelt. The latter also promised the Arab countries, through Ibn Saud, that the United States would not make any decision concerning Palestine without previously consulting the Arabs.

The Ethiopian problem was a little different. The English, who had granted the Negus a two-year subsidy of \$2,500,000 to keep other powers out of the country, began to reconsider their position. They decided to let the Americans in on the future exploitation of Ethiopian resources, and immediately following the Cairo visit, the press reported the grant by Ethiopia of an oil concession to the Sinclair Oil Corporation.

In Ethiopia, in addition, the English had to face a religious problem which was at the same time of political importance. In May 1944, the Negus announced that after the death of the present Abuna⁽¹⁾ he would insist that an Ethiopian be elevated to the office. This was intended to free the Church of Abyssinia from the control of the Egyptian Coptic Church, which has traditionally possessed the right to name the Abuna, and has always named an Egyptian. Such a change of policy would make the secession of the Ethiopian Church from the Egyptian and its merger with some other body, probably the Greek Orthodox Church. The result would be an increase of Russian influence in Ethiopia, for only eight months before, the Soviets had restored the rights and privileges of the Russian Orthodox Church, had re-established the Holy Synod of Bishops.

Soon after the Cairo visits of Churchill and Roosevelt, Saudi Arabia and Yemen gave their consent to the terms of the Arab Pact, and with their signing on March 22, 1945, the League of the Arab States was born. The pact came into force officially on May 10, after ratification by all seven signatories, and in December, Palestine, although not an "independent state," was admitted as a member.

Full text of this important document will be found in

(1) *Abuna* means in Arabic "Our Father" and designates the head of the Christian Church in Abyssinia.

Appendix II. It provides for the creation of an Arab League composed of the Independent Arab States, with a permanent secretariat at Cairo. Its purpose, as stated, is "to draw closer the relations between member states and co-ordinate their political activities with the aim of realizing a close collaboration among them, to safeguard their independence and sovereignty, and to consider in a general way the affairs and interests of the Arab countries." It calls for arbitration between member states, and for "close co-operation of the member states with due regard to the structure of each" and "the conditions prevailing therein," for economic and financial co-operation, and co-operation in matters of communication, culture, nationality, social welfare, and health.

The creation of the league was a great step toward the unification of the Arab world, although there still remain many religious differences, clashing interests, and old feuds — in short, many chinks in this new Arabian armor that hostile powers can use as points of attack. Even in its present stage, however, the Arab League is a political entity which should be taken seriously, for in spite of their internal conflicts, the Arab States are attempting to show to the world that they can resolve their differences. It was in this spirit that they participated in the San Francisco Conference. Few months later Egypt and Yemen concluded (August 22, 1945) a five year treaty of Friendship.

The principal stipulations follow:

By Article I. the two Contracting Parties guarantee mutual friendship and engage, within the limits of their own territory, to abstain from any act, susceptible of creating disturbances in other Country.

By Article II. the two Powers recognize the necessity of exchanging Diplomatic and Consular representatives and decide to conclude an agreement on this subject in the near future.

By Article III. the two Countries agree to conclude a provisional commercial accord. Egypt would extend to Yemen's goods the clause of the most favoured Nation.

Yemen took an active part in the third session of the Arab League, held at Cairo in March-April, 1946. The son of the Imam, Seif al Islam Abdullah, headed the delegation. Egypt profited by the presence of the Yemeni representatives to conclude the negotiations concerning the establishment of permanent diplomatic representation between the two countries. The Arab press reported on April 16th the conclusion of these conversations "in the spirit of amicable relations which exist" between San'a and Cairo. The opening of the Yemeni-Egyptian negotiations provoked a reaction from the United States, which sent to San'a their Saudi Arabia minister, the famous Col. Eddy, to work for a similar agreement. The delegation included, besides H. B. Clark, consul at Aden, two



A friendly meeting in London (1946)

Left to right: Seif al Islam Abdallah; Emir Saud of Saudi Arabia.
Second row: Seif al Islam Yahya; Sheik Hafiz Wahba, Saudi Arabian
Ambassador.

doctors to "check on the health of the Imam."⁽¹⁾

On May 4th, Yemen and the United States envoy signed an agreement covering diplomatic and consular representation, juridical protection, and commerce and navigation. The treaty provides for "mutual treatment of nationals in accordance with the requirements and practices of international law and for mutual unconditional enjoyment of most-favored-nation status." The agreement remains in force indefinitely, but can be terminated subject to thirty days' notice, or superseded by a more comprehensive agreement.

On May 18th, one week after the American press announced the signing of the treaty, the Soviet press reported that a group of Soviet doctors had left by air for Addis Ababa, where at the request of the Ethiopian Government, the Russian Ministry of Public Health would

(1) It is interesting to recall here the expedition sent by Charles Crane as a "gift" to the Imam. During his visit in 1927, he induced the Imam to accept an American Engineering party to study the resources of Yemen. The expedition which included K. S. Twitchell and M. Whiting arrived at Hodeida on Oct. 1927. During their short stay in Yemen, they studied mineral resources, surveyed roads, started experimental gardens and even located a dam site for the irrigation of the Tahama region.

The most promising source of revenue was the scientific exploitation of the rock salt mine of Saliffa. However the Imam was actually reluctant to give the concession to foreigners and its exploitation by Yemeni alone was out of question. So this first tentative of "opening" the country to American capital fell short of any tangible result.

open a hospital and out-patients' clinic, equipment for which had already left Odessa. According to some sources the Imam had already accepted the Russian Technicians who were to arrive in Yemen before the end of 1946. This growing interest on the part of the great powers and their care in assuring themselves of the well-being of the Negus and the Imam reflected the fight for influence that was going on in this part of the world.

Of the Big Three powers, America already owned important petroleum concessions in Saudi Arabia and had recently acquired (in 1945) oil concessions in Ethiopia; Cal-Tex held the former concession, and Standard Oil Co. the latter. America had also such other economic interests as her airlines; Transworld Airlines, for example, have arranged three-times-a-week service between the United States and Cairo. A Jerusalem-Basra-Bahrein Service has also been announced by Transworld, which recently acquired part of the shares of the Iranian and Ethiopian airlines. Washington has given notice of her intention to see to it that the naval and air bases which were constructed during the war, especially the airport at Dhahran, on the Persian Gulf in Saudi Arabia shall not fall into unfriendly hands. Strategically located these bases would contribute a real threat to American economic interests in the event of another war.

England, which before the war had an economic and

traffic monopoly in these regions, has relinquished part of them to America, but will keep the rest and defend them on the plea that the route to India has now become the "lifeline of the British Commonwealth."

As for Soviet Russia, it is equally clear that she intends to become a maritime power, and wishes to take the place formerly occupied in world affairs by Germany and Italy. The notion of "one world" has given way to the idea of two antagonistic worlds struggling for power on the borderline. Already in 1944, the Russian Embassy in Cairo alone had a staff of over 250, most of them speaking Arabic, and its active minister Novikov was aided by the no less active Sultanov, a Russian Moslem, in his task of "strengthening the Cultural relations between the two Countries"⁽¹⁾

The possible future evacuation of Egypt by England makes the base at Aden more important strategically. For Aden is to Yemen and Ethiopia what Gibraltar is to Spain and Morocco. The importance which British and Russian diplomacy attach to the political domination of Yemen and Ethiopia, therefore, is understandable, for through

(1) The appointment of Syrian-born Col. Eddy as head of the newly formed intelligence section of the State Department and that of Nikolai V. Novikov, former chief of the Near Eastern Department of Soviet Russia and former Ambassador to Egypt, as Russian Ambassador to Washington, shows the importance attached by the powers to the Near East.

these two countries the Indian Route runs.

The positions of the Big Three in these countries varies. America alone is considered in the Near East to be free of imperialist designs and to have only economic interests. The other two, Russia and Britain, are, with good reason, accused of political intrigue. But this attitude toward Russia is considerably softened from the point of view of the Arab States because of the position on Palestine taken by the Russian delegate to the United Nations.

The attitude of the Arab States on the Palestinian question has not changed since their participation in the London Conference of 1939. They reject now the idea of a Zionist State, as they did then. The Secretary of the Arab League, in a recent interview expressing the views of the Arab States, declared: "Palestine should be like any other democratic country, where a constitution guarantees the rights and religious prerogatives of minorities and the laws are then allowed to work on democratic principles."

On the other hand, the Zionists, especially the American Zionists, are not content with a minority role. The Jews at the Tripartite Conference of London in 1939 made it clear that they intended to reject any schemes legally establishing their status as a permanent minority, such as the Arab offer of a "minority rights" provision.

Behind the "problem of the Jewish homeland" there is also the strategic problem of British imperial defense. Britain made it clear in the White Paper of 1939 that both the constitution and the future Anglo-Palestinian Treaty should guarantee the "protection of British strategic interests." They cancelled the White Paper under pressure from the United States, but with Russia in the picture, military strategy becomes more important than the ambiguous Balfour Declaration. The press has lately reported that Britain intends to double the length of the Suez Canal by joining the port of Agaba in Transjordan to the Mediterranean via Palestine. The British, aware of their political and military weakness, intend to keep their interests and policies in harmony with those of the United States. For this and other reasons, the two powers present a united front, which has been characterized by the Russian Foreign Minister as the "Anglo-Saxon Bloc." The truth is that the British and Americans cannot afford to alienate the Arabs at this point in the international tension without throwing them into the arms of Moscow.

More than a year ago, the "Arab World", published in Washington, gave us the following friendly advice: "There is only one way of meeting and neutralizing Soviet influence and expansion and that is by outbidding her in decency and winning with deeds, not words the friendship of the billion awakening Africans and Asiatics." Whether

Britain and America will follow this advice remains to be seen.

As far as Yemen is concerned, its position is of utmost importance in the international game of politics. The Imam is aware of this and no doubt intends to use it to the best interests of his country. With his extraordinary political wisdom, it must be assumed that he will devote himself entirely to the modernization of his country and the amelioration of the condition of his people. Both have received from their ruler a good start. Public education has developed greatly during the past ten years, and in San'a there are even institutions of learning for young girls.

From an economic point of view, the country, though poor, is beginning to develop its own agricultural resources. And during the discussions of the recent American treaty, the Imam asked for the help of American experts and technicians for building roads, erecting dams and creating new industries. The machineries were to be paid by a loan of several million dollars from America. It is unofficially known, that the grant of credit is seriously considered in Washington. But to execute this grandiose program, Yemen needs peace, internal and external. From the internal point of view, the authority of the Imam seems, for the moment at least, well established. If he has chosen the right kind of friends (which he seems to have done), Yemen will enjoy the spirit of

her independence, and will profit commercially. It is only thus, that this "Cradle of the Arab race", as the Yemenis call their country, can succeed in recovering its past glories and advantageously take its place in the concert of the United Nations. *Insha Allab!*

New York, June 1946

ADDENDA

Since the above was written, the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry on Palestine has published its report, which was rejected by the Jews as well as by the Arabs. However, the states of the Arab League approached the English Government with the object of arriving at a solution of the Palestinian problem. Following this approach, the English Government sent an invitation to the seven states of the Arab League, and to the Jewish Agency, for a Round Table Conference which was to consider the British proposal, based on "*separate provincial autonomy*." The Arab States accepted the invitation, but the Jewish Agency refused to participate because of the refusal by the British to consider as the basis of the discussion the "Goldman Plan", which is the "*establishment of a viable Jewish State in an adequate area of Palestine*." So the Conference on Palestine was opened by Mr. Atlee on September 11th with Jewish representatives absent.

From the beginning, the Arab States made it clear that they would oppose any formal scheme of partitioning Palestine into Jewish and Arab areas, and offered their counter-proposal to the "Morrison plan." The Arab plan is based on the recognition of a democratic and independent Palestinian State, in which Jews as citizens would

have equal rights with Arabs, and in which their religious interests would be safe-guarded "*with such guarantees as they themselves demanded.*" Thus accepting the principle of a "*Jewish Home*" and refusing the notion of a "*Jewish State*". The Arab position, as we predicted, differed very little from the spirit of the White Paper of 1939.

A special committee was then appointed to consider the two proposals in detail. That Committee submitted its final report on October 2, 1946, and after hearing it, the Conference adjourned until December 16th to give to the British delegates time for full consideration of the proposals. Yemen was represented by the Seif al Islam Abdallah. The Yemeni delegation, which included Dr. Faizi al Mulki and Seid Ali Hassan Ibrahim, participated actively in the shaping of the Arab policy, and took a strong position against the partition of Palestine.

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*It is not easy to give an adequate bibliography of Yemen and very little is published concerning the present day history of that country. Whatever information is contained in the present book come from the personal files of the author.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Pact of Arab Alliance

(Signed, 1936, between Saudi Arabia and Iraq)

- I. No agreement shall be signed with a country foreign to the Pact without the approval of the other members of the Pact.
- II. Differences shall be settled in diplomatic fashion and, in case of failure, by arbitration in accordance with the Protocol appended to the Pact.
- III. & The signers of this Pact owe to each other diplo-
IV. matic and military assistance against aggression by a foreign country.
- V. The signers of the Pact will assist one another in quelling any insurrection.
- VI. Yemen, brother in religion and language, shall be invited to adhere to the Pact, which is also open to all independent Arab States.
- VII. Islamo-Arabic and military education will be unified.
- VIII. Diplomatic and military agents of each of the contracting parties can represent all others.

- IX. This Pact shall contain nothing contrary to the laws or engagements of Iraq.
- X. If one of the contracting parties shall commit an act of aggression against a foreign country, she shall be excluded from the Pact.
- XI. All agreements concluded between contracting parties, not contrary to the Pact, are retained in force.
- XII. The contracting parties will make economic agreements concerning tariffs, the right of residence, and will grant facilities for the delivery of passports, and the development of roads and communications between their countries.
- XIII. This Pact shall come into effect immediately after it is signed on the 12th day of Moharram 1355 (April 3, 1936).
- XIV. This Pact shall be effective and in force for 10 years.

APPENDIX II

Text of the Arab Pact of March 22, 1945

(Between Syria, Trans-Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia,
Lebanon, Egypt, and Yemen)

- I. The League of the Arab States shall be composed of the Independent Arab States that have signed this Pact.

Every independent Arab state shall have the right to adhere to the League. Should it desire to adhere, it shall present an application to that effect which shall be filed with the permanent General Secretariat and submitted to the Council at its first meeting following the presentation of the application.

- II. The purpose of the League is to draw closer the relations between member states and co-ordinate their political activities with the aim of realizing a close collaboration among them, to safeguard their independence and sovereignty, and to consider in a general way the affairs and interests of the Arab countries.

It also has among its purposes a close co-operation of the member States, with due regard to the structure of each and the conditions prevailing therein, in the following matters:

- A) Economic and financial matters, including trade, customs, currency, agriculture, and industry.
- B) Communications, including railways, roads, aviation, navigation, and posts and telegraphs.
- C) Cultural matters.
- D) Matters connected with nationality, passports, visas, execution of judgments, and extradition.
- E) Social welfare matters.
- F) Health matters.

III. The League shall have a Council composed of the representatives of the member States. Each State shall have one vote, regardless of the number of its representatives.

The Council shall be entrusted with the function of realizing the purposes of the League and of supervising the execution of the agreements concluded between the member States on matters referred to in Article II, or on other matters.

It shall also have the function of determining

the means whereby the League will collaborate with international organizations which may be created in the future to guarantee peace and security and to organize economic and social relations.

- IV. A special committee shall be formed for each of the categories enumerated in Article II, on which the member States shall be represented. These committees shall be entrusted with establishing the basis and scope of co-operation in the form of draft agreements which shall be submitted to the Council for its consideration preparatory to their being submitted to the States referred to.

Delegates representing the other Arab countries may participate on these committees as members.

The Council shall determine the circumstances in which the participation of these representatives shall be allowed, as well as the basis of the representation.

- V. The recourse to force for settlement of disputes between two or more member States shall not be allowed. Should there arise a dispute which does not involve the independence of a State, its sovereignty or its territorial integrity, and should the two contending parties apply to the Council for settlement of this dispute, the decision of the Council shall then be effective and obliga-

tory. In this case, the States among whom the dispute has arisen shall not participate in the deliberation and decision of the Council. The Council shall mediate in a dispute which may lead to war between two member States, or between a member State and a foreign State, in order to conciliate them.

The decision relating to arbitration and mediation shall be taken by majority vote.

- VI. In case of aggression or threat of aggression by a State against a member State, the State attacked or threatened with attack may request an immediate meeting of the Council.

The Council shall determine the measures necessary to repel the aggression. Its decision shall be taken unanimously. If the aggression is committed by a member State, its vote will not be counted in determining unanimity.

If the aggression is committed in such a way as to render the Government of the State attacked unable to communicate with the Council, the representative of that State in the Council may request the Council to convene for the purpose set forth in the preceding paragraph. If the representative is unable to communicate with the Council, it shall be the right of any member State to request a meeting of the Council.

- VII. The decisions of the Council taken by a unanimous vote shall be binding on all member States of the League; those reached by a majority vote shall be binding only on those that accept them. In both cases, the decisions of the Council shall be executed in each State in accordance with the fundamental structure of that State.
- VIII. Every member State of the League shall respect the form of government functioning in the other States of the League, and shall recognize the form of government in force as one of the rights of those States, and shall pledge itself not to take any action to change that form.
- IX. The States of the Arab League that are desirous of establishing among themselves closer collaboration and stronger bonds than those provided for in the present Pact may conclude among themselves whatever agreements they wish for this purpose.
- The treaties and agreements already concluded, or that may be concluded in the future between a member State and any other State shall not be binding on the other members.
- X. The permanent seat of the League of Arab States shall be Cairo. The Council of the League may meet at any other place it designates.
- XI. The Council of the League shall meet in ordinary

session twice a year, during the months of March and October. It shall meet in extraordinary session at the request of two member States whenever the need arises.

- XII. The League shall have a permanent General Secretariat, composed of a Secretary General, Assistant Secretaries, and an adequate number of officials.

The Secretary General shall be appointed by the Council upon the vote of two-thirds of the States of the League. The Assistant Secretaries and the principal officials shall be appointed by the Secretary General with the approval of the Council.

The Council shall establish an internal organization for the General Secretariat, as well as the conditions of service of the officials.

The Secretary General shall have the rank of Ambassador and the Assistant Secretaries the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary.

The first Secretary General of the League is designated in an appendix to the present Pact.⁽¹⁾

- XIII. The Secretary General shall prepare the draft of the budget of the League and submit it for

⁽¹⁾ The present Secretary is Abḍar Rahmān Azam ('Azām) Pasha, formerly of the Egyptian Foreign Office.

approval to the Council before the beginning of each fiscal year.

The Council shall determine the share of each of the States of the League in the expenses. It shall be allowed to revise the share if necessary.

- XIV. The members of the Council of the League, the members of its Committees, and such of its officials as shall be designated in the internal organization, shall enjoy, in the exercise of their duties, diplomatic privileges and immunities.

The premises occupied by the institutions of the League shall be inviolable.

- XV. The Council shall meet for the first time at the invitation of the head of the Egyptian Government. Later meetings shall be convoked by the Secretary General.

In each ordinary session the representatives of the States of the League shall assume the chairmanship of the Council in rotation.

- XVI. Except for the cases provided for in the present Pact, a majority shall suffice for decisions by council in the following matters:

- A) Matters concerning the officials.
- B) The approval of the budget of the League.
- C) The internal organization of the Council,

the Committees, and the General Secretariat.

D) The termination of the sessions.

XVII. The member States of the League shall file with the General Secretariat copies of all treaties and agreements which they have concluded or shall conclude with any other State, whether a member of the League or otherwise.

XVIII. If one of the member States intends to withdraw from the League, the Council shall be informed of its intention one year before withdrawal takes effect.

The Council of the League may consider any state that is not fulfilling the obligations resulting from this Pact as excluded from the League, on a unanimous vote of all the States except the State referred to.

XIX. The present Pact may be amended with the approval of two-thirds of the members of the League, in particular for the purpose of strengthening the ties between them, of creating an Arab Court of Justice, and of regulating the relations of the League with international organizations which may be created in the future to guarantee security and peace.

No decisions shall be taken as regards an amend-

ment except in the session following that in which it is proposed.

Any State that does not approve an amendment may withdraw from the League when the amendment becomes effective, without being bound by the provisions of the preceding article.

- XX. The present Pact and its appendices shall be ratified in accordance with the fundamental form of government in each of the contracting States.

The instruments of ratification shall be filed with the General Secretariat at the present Pact shall become binding on the States that ratify it fifteen days after the Secretary General receives instruments of ratification from four States.

The present Pact has been drawn up in the Arabic language in Cairo and dated 8 Rab'al Thani 1364 (22 March, 1945) in a single text which shall be deposited with the General Secretariat.

A certified copy shall be sent to each of the States of the League.

ANNEX III

*Text of the Agreement between the UNITED STATES
and the KINGDOM OF THE YEMEN*

SANA'A, May 4, 1946.

EXCELLENCY:

I have the honor to make the following statement of my Government's understanding of the agreement reached through conversations held at Sana'a April 14 to May 4 by representatives of the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Kingdom of the Yemen with reference to diplomatic and consular representation, juridical protection, commerce and navigation as hereafter defined. These two Governments, having in mind the letter dated March 4, 1946, from the President of the United States of America to the Imam Yahya ibn Muhammad Hamid al-Din, King of the Yemen, by which the United States of America recognized the complete and absolute independence of the Kingdom of the Yemen, and desiring to strengthen the friendly relations happily existing between the two countries, and to respect the rights of this independence recognized by the above-mentioned letter as the basis for all their relations and to maintain

the most-favored-nation principle in its unconditional and unlimited form as the basis of their commercial relations, agree to the following provisions :

Article —

- I. The United States of America and the Kingdom of the Yemen will exchange diplomatic representatives and consular officers at a date which shall be fixed by mutual agreement between the two Governments.
- II. The diplomatic representatives of each Party accredited to the Government of the other Party shall enjoy in the territories of such other Party the rights, privileges, exemptions and immunities accorded under generally recognized principles of international law. The consular officers of each Party who are assigned to the Government of the other Party, and are duly provided with exequaturs, shall be permitted to reside in the territories of such other Party at the places where consular officers are permitted by the applicable laws to reside ; they shall enjoy the honorary privileges and the immunities accorded to officers of their rank by general international usage ; and they shall not, in any event, be treated in a manner less favorable than similar officers of any third country.
- III. Subjects of His Majesty the King of the Yemen in

the United States of America and nationals of the United States of America in the Kingdom of the Yemen shall be received and treated in accordance with the requirements and practices of generally recognized international law. In respect of their persons, possessions and rights, such subjects or nationals shall enjoy the fullest protection of the laws and authorities of the country, and shall not be treated in any manner less favorable than the nationals of any third country. Subjects of His Majesty in the United States of America and Nationals of the United States of America in the Kingdom of the Yemen shall be subject to the local laws and regulations, and shall enjoy the rights and privileges accorded in this third Article.

- IV. In all matters relating to customs duties and charges of any kind imposed on or in connection with importation or exportation or otherwise affecting commerce and navigation, to the method of levying such duties and charges, to all rules and formalities in connection with importation or exportation, and to transit, warehousing and other facilities, each Party shall accord unconditional and unrestricted most-favored-nation treatment to articles of growth, produce or manufacture of the other Party, from whatever place arriving, or to articles destined for exportation to the territories of such other Party,

by whatever route. Any advantage, favor, privilege or immunity with respect to any duty, charge or regulation affecting commerce or navigation now or hereafter accorded by the United States of America or by the Kingdom of the Yemen to any third country will be accorded immediately and unconditionally to the commerce and navigation of the Kingdom of the Yemen and of the United States of America, respectively. The advantages relating to customs duties now or hereafter accorded by the United States of America to the Republic of Cuba shall be excepted from the provisions of this Agreement.

- V. There shall be excepted from the provisions of Article IV of this Agreement advantages now or hereafter accorded by virtue of a customs union of which either Party may become a member; to adjacent countries in order to facilitate frontier traffic; and by the United States of America or its territories or possessions to one another or to the Panama Canal Zone.

The last clause shall continue to apply in respect of any advantages now or hereafter accorded by the United States of America or its territories or possessions to one another irrespective of any change in the political status of any such territories or possessions. Nothing in this Agreement shall prevent

the adoption or enforcement by either Party within the area of its jurisdiction: of measures relating to the importation or exportation of gold or silver or the traffic in arms, ammunition, and implements of war, and, in exceptional circumstances, all other military supplies; of measures necessary in pursuance of obligations for the maintenance of international peace and security or necessary for the protection of the essential interests of such Party in time of national emergency; or of statutes in relation to immigration and travel. Subject to the requirement that, under like circumstances and conditions, there shall be no arbitrary discrimination by either Party against the subjects, nationals, commerce or navigation of the other Party in favor of the subjects, nationals, commerce or navigation of any third country, the provisions of this Agreement shall not extend to prohibitions or restrictions; imposed on moral or humanitarian grounds; designed to protect human, animal, or plant life or health; relating to prison-made goods; or relating to the enforcement of police or revenue law.

- VI. The provisions of this Agreement shall apply to all territory under the sovereignty or authority of either of the parties, except the Panama Canal Zone.
- VII. This Agreement shall continue in force until superseded by a more comprehensive commercial agree-

ment, or until thirty days from the date of a written notice of termination given by either Party to the other Party, whichever is the earlier. Moreover, either Party may terminate Articles I, II, III or IV on thirty day's written notice.

If the above provisions are acceptable to the Government of the Kingdom of the Yemen this note and the reply signifying assent thereto shall, if agreeable to that Government, be regarded as constituting an agreement between two Governments which shall become effective on the date of such acceptance.

Accept [etc.]

WILLIAM A. EDDY

Chief, Special U. S. Diplomatic

Mission to the Kingdom of the Yemen

Al Qadi ABDUL KARIM MUTAHHAR

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs

Kingdom of the Yemen

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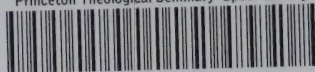


YEMEN AND HER NEIGHBORS



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